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AUTHOR OF "EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES" (WITH E. H. MCNEAL), "A SHORT HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE," "A GENERAL HISTORY OF EUROPE" (WITH E. H. MCNEAL), "A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH"

EDITOR

TEN VOLUMES

VOL. V

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION PERIODS

BOSTON

THE ROBERTS-MANCHESTER PUBLISHING CO.

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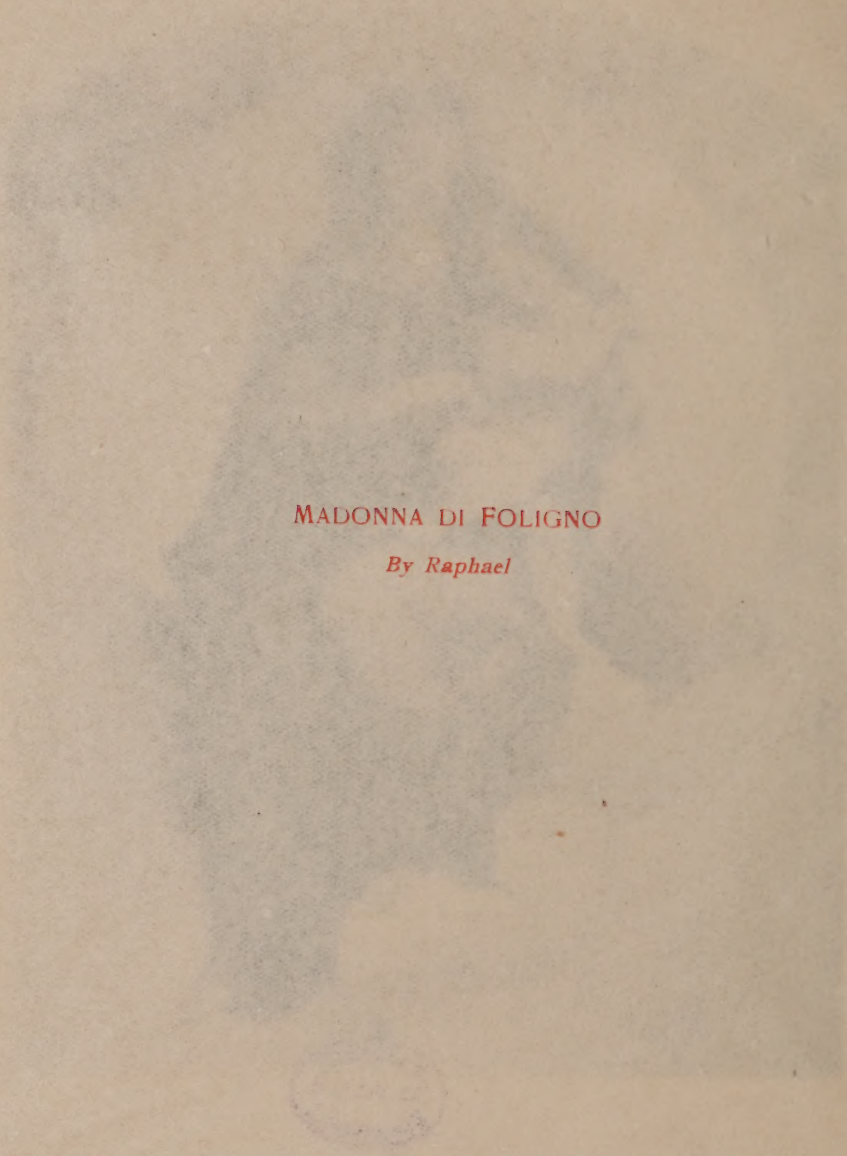

MADONNA DI FOLIGNO

By Raphael

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June 1, 1903
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EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT

ALTHOUGH THE EDITOR only is responsible for the matter included in this set of books, yet he has been greatly assisted by the suggestions he has received from specialists in their own fields. As the editing of the last volumes is not yet finished, it is impossible to give full credit for such advice, but the editor takes this opportunity to acknowledge the important counsel or additional suggestions received from:

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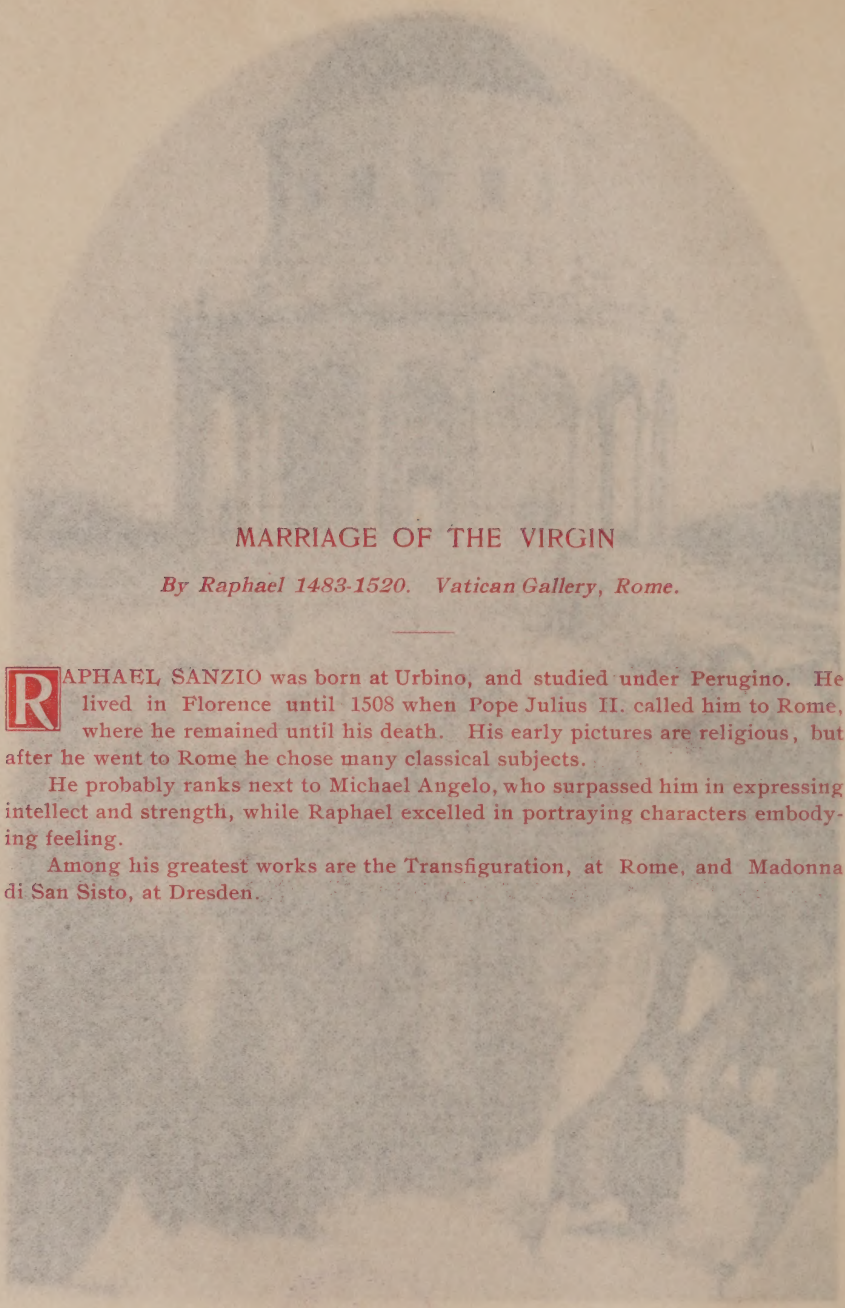
THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES

COLUMBUS

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in Genoa in 1435. In his youth he was much interested in geographical studies, and he later made a number of voyages on the Mediterranean under his uncle and cousin.



MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN

By Raphael 1483-1520. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

RAPHAEL SANZIO was born at Urbino, and studied under Perugino. He lived in Florence until 1508 when Pope Julius II. called him to Rome, where he remained until his death. His early pictures are religious, but after he went to Rome he chose many classical subjects.

He probably ranks next to Michael Angelo, who surpassed him in expressing intellect and strength, while Raphael excelled in portraying characters embodying feeling.

Among his greatest works are the Transfiguration, at Rome, and Madonna di San Sisto, at Dresden.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES

MODERN TIMES, though heralded by Guttenberg's invention of printing in 1438, and by the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the resulting diffusion of Greek scholars throughout western Europe, were actually ushered in by Columbus's discovery of the western hemisphere, Magellan's trip round the world, the Copernican theory, and the great revolution in religion.

The discovery of Columbus in effect laid open a new world before the eyes of Europe as truly as if some one should now open up a route to Mars. Five years later Vasco da Gama found the way round the cape of Good Hope to India. In 1519 Magellan crossed the Pacific, and after his death his men completed the circumnavigation of the globe. This proved forever the hypothesis of the rotundity of the earth. These three expeditions, taken together, metamorphosed the geographical ideas of Europe, opened a vast field for effort, weakened the church fathers as scientific authorities, and broke the spell of self-complacent, all-knowing ignorance that had held Europe in its thrall.

COLUMBUS

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in Genoa in 1435. In his youth he was much interested in geographical studies, and he later made a number of voyages on the Mediterranean under his uncle and cousin.

In 1470 we find him making maps in Lisbon. This was at the time the center of geographical speculation. Prince Henry had established a naval school, sent out expeditions that had discovered the Canaries, and was in search of a passage round Africa to India. It was while here that Columbus conceived his daring project of reaching India by sailing round the world. The foundation of his belief seems to have been theories of the rotundity of the earth found in ancient writers, and rumors of signs of land, such as trunks of trees and bodies of a strange type, that had been driven ashore from the westward. He thought the world smaller than it is and that Asia would reach to about where America does. Prince Henry died in 1473. His successor, Alphonso, did not follow up his ideas of discovery, but John, who came to the throne in 1481, prosecuted them with increasing vigor. The compass had been invented, or discovered, by Flavio Giopa about 1300. At a consultation called by the king, Roderigo and the Jew Joseph, both physicians, assisted by Martin Behem, the map maker, applied the astrolabe to navigation, enabling the seaman from the sun's altitude to tell his distance from the equator. It was to this prince that Columbus first took his idea. The king referred the plan to Roderigo, Joseph and the Bishop of Ceuta, but they voted against it. At a second council it was suggested to send out a caravel to see whether there was any foundation for Columbus's theory. The caravel ran into a storm and disheartened returned. Columbus, enraged at the trick imposed on him, went to Genoa, then to Spain.

In Spain the Duke of Medina Celi recommended him to Isabella. The council at Salamanca decided against him. It was urged against him that texts of scripture and the fathers were opposed to his idea; that, as St. Augustine said, if there were antipodes the Bible would have said so; that the world was actually a flat disk, with a dropping-off place, and that if it were round, they would still slide off. Columbus had, however, made an impression with the sovereigns, and was given sufficient hopes to cause him to remain. Then came the campaigns against the Moors and for six years the matter was not brought to a head. At last, after the surrender of Granada, Isabella agreed to his plan, and Columbus set sail Friday, August 3, 1492. His account of the discovery is given below.

A second and a third expedition were fitted out for him but his colonies were not a success. He fell into disgrace at court, then was restored to favor, then neglected. He died in 1506, before he had received his dues, but his is one of the few names that time can never dim.

JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS

This is the first voyage and the routes and direction taken by the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon when he discovered the Indies, summarized; except the prologue made for the Sovereigns, which is given word for word and commences in this manner.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

BECAUSE, O most Christian, and very high, very excellent, and puissant Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the islands of the Sea, our Lords, in this present year of 1492, after your Highness had given an end to the war with the Moors who reigned in Europe, and had finished it in the very great city of Granada, where in this present year, on the second day of the month of January, by force of arms, I saw the royal banners of your Highness placed on the towers of Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city, and I saw the Moorish King come forth from the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses, and of the Prince my Lord, and presently in that same month, acting on the information that I had given to your Highnesses touching the lands of India, and respecting a Prince who is called *Gran Can,* which means in our language King of Kings, how he and his ancestors had sent to Rome many times to ask for learned men of our holy faith to teach them, and how the Holy Father had never complied, insomuch that many people believing in idolatries were lost by receiving doctrine of perdition: YOUR HIGHNESSES, as Catholic Christians and Princes who love the holy Christian faith, and the propagation of it, and who are enemies to the sect of Mahomat and to all idolatries and heresies, resolved to send me, Christobal Colon, to the said parts of India to see the said princes, and the cities and lands, and their disposition, with a view that they might be converted to our holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by land to the eastward, as had been customary, but that I should go by way of the west, whither up to this day, we do not know for certain that any one has gone.

Thus, after having turned out all the Jews from all your kingdoms and lordships, in the same month of January, your Highnesses gave orders to me that with a sufficient fleet I should go to the said parts of India, and for this they made great concessions to me, and ennobled me, so that henceforward I should be called Don, and should be Chief Admiral of the Ocean Sea, perpetual Viceroy and Governor

of all the islands and continents that I should discover and gain, and that I might hereafter discover and gain in the Ocean Sea, and that my eldest son should succeed, and so on from generation to generation for ever.

I left the city of Granada on the 12th day of May, in the same year of 1492, being Saturday, and came to the town of Palos, which is a support; where I equipped three vessels, well suited for such service; and departed from that port, well supplied with provisions and with many sailors, on the 3d day of August of the same year, being Friday, half an hour before sunrise, taking the route to the islands of Canaria, belonging to your Highnesses, which are in the said Ocean Sea, that I might thence take my departure for navigating until I should arrive at the Indies, and give the letters of your Highnesses to those princes, so as to comply with my orders. As part of my duty I thought it well to write an account of all the voyage very punctually, noting from day to day all that I should do and see, and that should happen, as will be seen further on. Also, Lords Princes, I resolved to describe each night what passed in the day, and to note each day how I navigated at night. I propose to construct a new chart for navigating, on which I shall delineate all the sea and lands of the Ocean in their proper positions under their bearings; and further, I propose to prepare a book, and to put down all as it were in a picture, by latitude from the equator, and western longitude. Above all, I shall have accomplished much, for I shall forget sleep, and shall work at the business of navigation, that so the service may be performed; all which will entail great labour.

Friday, 3d of August.

We departed on Friday, the 3d of August, in the year 1492, from the bar of Saltes, at 8 o'clock, and proceeded with a strong sea breeze until sunset, towards the south, for 60 miles, equal to 15 leagues; afterwards S.W. and W.S.W., which was the course for the Canaries.

Saturday, 4th of August.

They steered S.W. ¼ S.

Sunday, 5th of August.

They continued their course day and night more than 40 leagues.

Monday, 6th of August.

The rudder of the caravel *Pinta* became unshipped, and Martin Alonso Pinzon, who was in command, believed or suspected that it was by contrivance of Gomes Rascon and Christobal Quintero, to whom the caravel belonged, for they dreaded to go on that voyage. The

Admiral says that, before they sailed, these men had been displaying a certain backwardness, so to speak. The Admiral was much disturbed at not being able to help the said caravel without danger, and he says that he was eased of some anxiety when he reflected that Martin Alonso Pinzon was a man of energy and ingenuity. They made, during the day and night, 29 leagues.

Tuesday, 7th of August.

The rudder of the *Pinta* was shipped and secured, and they proceeded on a course for the island and of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries, They made, during the day and night, 25 leagues.

Wednesday, 8th of August.

Opinions respecting their position varied among the pilots of the three caravels; but that of the Admiral proved to be nearer the truth. He wished to go to Gran Canaria, to leave the caravel *Pinta,* because she was disabled by the faulty hanging of the rudder, and was making water. He intended to obtain another there if one could be found. They could not reach the place that day.

Thursday, 9th of August.

The Admiral was not able to reach Gomera until the night of Sunday, while Martin Alonso remained on that coast of Gran Canaria by order of the Admiral, because his vessel could not be navigated. Afterwards the Admiral took her to Canaria, and they repaired the *Pinta* very thoroughly through the pains and labour of the Admiral, of Martin Alonso, and of the rest. Finally they came to Gomera. They saw a great fire issue from the mountain of the island of Tenerife, which is of great height. They rigged the *Pinta* with square sails, for she was lateen rigged; and the Admiral reached Gomera on Sunday, the 2nd of September, with the *Pinta* repaired.

The Admiral says that many honorable Spanish gentlemen who were at Gomera with Doña Ines Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza (who was afterwards the first Count of Gomera), and who were natives of the island of Hierro, declared that every year they saw land west of the Canaries; and others, natives of Gomera, affirmed the same on oath. The Admiral here says that he remembers, when in Portugal in the year 1484, a man came to the King from the island of Madeira, to beg for a caravel to go to this land that was seen, who swore that it could be seen every year, and always in the same way. He also says that he recollects the same thing being affirmed in the islands of the Azores; and all these lands were described as in the same direction, and as being like each other, and of the same size. Having taken in

water, wood, and meat, and all else that the men had who were left at Gomera by the Admiral when he went to the island of Canaria to repair the caravel *Pinta,* he finally made sail from the said island of Gomera, with his three caravels, on Thursday, the 6th day of September.

Thursday, 6th of September.

He departed on that day from the port of Gomera in the morning, and shaped a course to go on his voyage; having received tidings from a caravel that came from the island of Hierro that three Portuguese caravels were off that island with the object of taking him. (This must have been the result of the King's annoyance that Colon should have gone to Castille.) There was a calm all that day and night and in the morning he found himself between Gomera and Tenerife.

Friday, 7th September.

The calm continued all Friday and Saturday, until the third hour of the night.

Saturday, 8th of September.

At the third hour of Saturday night it began to blow from the N.E., and the Admiral shaped a course to the west. He took in much sea over the bows, which retarded progress, and 9 leagues were made in that day and night.

Sunday, 9th of September.

This day the Admiral made 19 leagues, and he arranged to reckon less than the number run, because if the voyage was of long duration, the people would not be so terrified and disheartened. In the night he made 120 miles, at the rate of 12 miles an hour, which are 30 leagues. The sailors steered badly, letting the ship fall off to N.E., and even more, respecting which the Admiral complained many times.

Monday, 10th of September.

In this day and night he made 60 leagues, at the rate of 10 miles an hour, which are 2½ leagues; but he only counted 48 leagues, that the people might not be alarmed if the voyage should be long.

Tuesday, 11th of September.

That day they sailed on their course, which was west, and made 20 leagues and more. They saw a large piece of the mast of a ship of 120 tons, but were unable to get it. In the night they made nearly 20 leagues, but only counted 16, for the reason already given.

Wednesday, 12th of September.

That day, steering their course, they made 33 leagues during the day and night, counting less.

Thursday, 13th of September.

That day and night, steering their course, which was west, they made 33 leagues, counting 3 or 4 less. The currents were against them. On this day, at the commencement of the night, the needles turned a half point to north-west, and in the morning they turned somewhat more north-west.

Friday, 14th of September.

That day they navigated, on their westerly course, day and night, 20 leagues, counting a little less. Here those of the caravel *Niña* reported that they had seen a tern and a boatswain bird, and these birds never go more than 25 leagues from the land.

Saturday, 15th of September.

That day and night they made 27 leagues and rather more on their west course; and in the early part of the night there fell from heaven in to the sea a marvellous flame of fire, at a distance of about 4 or 5 leagues from them.

Sunday, 16th of September.

That day and night they steered their course west, making 39 leagues, but the Admiral only counted 36. There were some clouds and small rain. The Admiral says that on that day, and ever afterwards, they met with very temperate breezes, so that there was great pleasure in enjoying in the mornings, nothing being wanted but the song of nightingales. He says that the weather was like April in Andalusia. Here they began to see many tufts of grass which were very green, and appeared to have been quite recently torn from the land. From this they judged that they were near some island, but not the main land, according to the Admiral, "because," as he says, "I make the main-land to be more distant."

Monday, 17th of September.

They proceeded on their west course, and made over 50 leagues in the day and night, but the Admiral only counted 47. They were aided by the current. They saw much very fine grass and herbs from rocks, which came from the west. They, therefore, considered that they were near land. The pilots observed the north point, and found that the needles turned a full point to the west of north. So the mariners were alarmed and dejected, and did not give their reason. But the Admiral knew, and ordered that the north should be again observed at dawn. They then found that the needles were true. The cause

was that the star makes the movement, and not the needles. At dawn, on that Monday, they saw much more weed appearing, like herbs from rivers, in which they found a live crab, which the Admiral kept. He says that these crabs are certain signs of land. The sea-water was found to be less salt than it had been since leaving the Canaries. The breezes were always soft. Everyone was pleased, and the best sailers went ahead to sight the first land. They saw many tunny-fish, and the crew of the *Niña* killed one. The Admiral here says that these signs of land came from the west, "in which direction I trust in that high God in whose hands are all victories that very soon we shall sight land." In that morning he says that a white bird was seen which has not the habit of sleeping on the sea, called *rabo de junco* (boatswain-bird).

Tuesday, 18th of September.

This day and night they made over 55 leagues, the Admiral only counting 48. In all these days the sea was very smooth, like the river at Seville. This day Martin Alonso, with the *Pinta,* which was a fast sailer, did not wait, for he said to the Admiral, from his caravel, that he had seen a great multitude of birds flying westward, that he hoped to see land that night, and that he therefore pressed onward. A great cloud appeared in the north, which is a sign of the proximity of land.

Wednesday, 19th of September.

The Admiral continued on his course, and during the day and night he made but 25 leagues because it was calm. He counted 22. This day, at 10 o'clock, a booby came to the ship, and in the afternoon another arrived, these birds not generally going more than 20 leagues from the land. There was also some drizzling rain without wind, which is a sure sign of land. The Admiral did not wish to cause delay by beating to windward to ascertain whether land was near, but he considered it certain that there were islands both to the north and south of his position (as indeed there were, and he was passing through the middle of them). For his desire was to press onwards to the Indies, the weather being fine. For on his return, God willing, he could see all. These are his own words. Here the pilots found their positions. He of the *Niña* made the Canaries 440 leagues distant, the *Pinta* 420. The pilot of the Admiral's ship made the distance exactly 400 leagues.

Thursday, 20th of September.

This day the course was W. b. N., and as her head was all round the compass owing to the calm that prevailed, the ships made only 7 or 8 leagues. Two boobies came to the ship, and afterwards another,

a sign of the proximity of land. They saw much weed, although none was seen on the previous day. They caught a bird with the hand, which was like a tern. But it was a river-bird, not a sea-bird, the feet being like those of a gull. At dawn two or three land-birds came singing to the ship, and they disappeared before sunset. Afterwards a booby came from W.N.W., and flew to the S.W., which was a sign that it left land in the W.N.W.; for these birds sleep on shore, and go to sea in the mornings in search of food, not extending their flight more than 20 leagues from the land.

Friday, 21st of September.

Most of the day it was calm, and later there was a little wind. During the day and night they did not make good more than 13 leagues. At dawn they saw so much weed that the sea appeared to be covered with it, and it came from the west. A booby was seen. The sea was very smooth, like a river, and the air the best in the world. They saw a whale, which is a sign that they were near land, because they always keep near the shore.

Saturday 22nd of September.

They shaped a course W.N.W. more or less, her head turning from one to the other point, and made 30 leagues. Scarcely any weed was seen. They saw some sandpipers and another bird. Here the Admiral says: "This contrary wind was very necessary for me, because my people were much excited at the thought that in these seas no wind ever blew in the direction of Spain." Part of the day there was no weed, and later it was very thick.

Sunday, 23rd of September.

They shaped a course N.W., and at times more northerly; occasionally they were on their course, which was west, and they made about 22 leagues. They saw a dove and a booby, another river-bird, and some white birds. There was a great deal of weed, and they found crabs in it. The sea being smooth and calm, the crew began to murmur, saying that here there was no great sea, and that the wind would never blow so that they could return to Spain. Afterwards the sea rose very much, without wind, which astonished them. The Admiral here says: "Thus the high sea was very necessary to me, such as had not appeared but in the time of the Jews when they went out of Egypt and murmured against Moses, who delivered them out of captivity."

Monday, 24th of September.

The Admiral went on his west course all day and night, making

14 leagues. He counted 12. A booby came to the ship, and many sandpipers.

Tuesday, 25th of September.

This day began with a calm, and afterwards there was wind. They were on their west course until night. The Admiral conversed with Martin Alonso Pinzon, captain of the other caravel *Pinta,* respecting a chart which he had sent to the caravel three days before, on which, as it would appear, the Admiral had certain islands depicted in that sea. Martin Alonso said that the ships were in the position on which the islands were placed, and the Admiral replied that so it appeared to him: but it might be that they had not fallen in with them, owing to the currents which had always set the ships to the N.E., and that they had not made so much as the pilots reported. The Admiral then asked for the chart to be returned, and it was sent back on a line. The Admiral then began to plot the position on it, with the pilot and mariners. At sunset Martin Alonso went up on the poop of his ship, and with much joy called to the Admiral, claiming the reward as he had sighted land. When the Admiral heard this positively declared, he says that he gave thanks to the Lord on his knees, while Martin Alonso said the *Gloria in excelsis* with his people. The Admiral's crew did the same. Those of the *Niña* all went up on the mast and into the rigging, and declared that it was land. It so seemed to the Admiral, and that it was distant 25 leagues. They all continued to declare it was land until night. The Admiral ordered the course to be altered from W. to S.W., in which direction the land had appeared. That day they made 4 leagues on a west course, and 17 S.W. during the night, in all 21; but the people were told that 13 was the distance made good: for it was always feigned to them that the distances were less, so that the voyage might not appear so long. Thus two reckonings were kept on this voyage, the shorter being feigned, and the longer being the true one. The sea was very smooth, so that many sailors bathed alongside. They saw many *dorados* and other fish.

Wednesday, 26th of September.

The Admiral continued on the west course until after noon. Then he altered course to S.W., until he made out that what had been said to be land was only clouds. Day and night they made 31 leagues, counting 24 for the people. The sea was like a river, the air pleasant and very mild.

Thursday, 27th of September.

The course west, and distance made good during day and night 24 leagues, 20 being counted for the people. Many *dorados* came. One was killed. A boatswain-bird came.

Friday, 28th of September.

The course was west, and the distance, owing to calms, only 14 leagues in day and night, 13 leagues being counted. They met with little weed; but caught two *dorados,* and more in the other ships.

Saturday, 29th of September.

The course was west, and they made 24 leagues, counting 21 for the people. Owing to calms, the distance made good during day and night was not much. They saw a bird called *rabiforcado* (man-o'-war bird), which makes the boobies vomit what they have swallowed, and eats it, maintaining itself on nothing else. It is a sea-bird, but does not sleep on the sea, and does not go more than 20 leagues from the land. There are many of them at the Cape Verde Islands. Afterwards they saw two boobies. The air was very mild and agreeable, and the Admiral says that nothing was wanting but to hear the nightingale. The sea smooth as a river. Later, three boobies and a man-o'-war bird were seen three times. There was much weed.

Sunday, 30th of September.

The western course was steered, and during the day and night, owing to calms, only 14 leagues were made, 11 being counted. Four boatswain-birds came to the ship, which is a great sign of land, for so many birds of this kind together is a sign that they are not straying or lost. They also twice saw four boobies. There was much weed. *Note* that the stars which are called *las guardias* (the Pointers), when night comes on, are near the western point, and when dawn breaks they are near the N.E. point; so that, during the whole night, they do not appear to move more than three lines or 9 hours, and this on each night. The Admiral says this, and also that at nightfall the needles vary a point westerly, while at dawn they agree exactly with the star. From this it would appear that the north star has a movement like the other stars, while the needles always point correctly.

Monday, 1st of October.

Course west, and 25 leagues made good, counted for the crew as 20 leagues. There was a heavy shower of rain. At dawn the Admiral's pilot made the distance from Hierro 578 leagues to the west. The reduced reckoning which the Admiral showed to the crew made it 584 leagues; but the truth which the Admiral observed and kept secret was 707.

Tuesday, 2nd of October.

Course west, and during the day and night 39 leagues were made good, counted for the crew as 30. The sea always smooth. Many thanks be given to God, says the Admiral, that the weed is coming from east to west, contrary to its usual course. Many fish were seen, and one was killed. A white bird was also seen that appeared to be a gull.

Wednesday, 3d of October.

They navigated on the usual course, and made good 47 leagues, counted as 40. Sandpipers appeared, and much weed, some of it very old and some quite fresh and having fruit. They saw no birds. The Admiral, therefore, thought that they had left the islands behind them which were depicted on the charts. The Admiral here says that he did not wish to keep the ships beating about during the last week, and in the last few days when there were so many signs of land, although he had information of certain islands in this region. For he wished to avoid delay, his object being to reach the Indies. He says that to delay would not be wise.

Thursday, 4th of October.

Course west, and 63 leagues made good during the day and night, counted as 46. More than forty sandpipers came to the ship in a flock, and two boobies, and a ship's boy hit one with a stone. There also came a man-o'war bird and a white bird like a gull.

Friday, 5th of October.

The Admiral steered his course, going 11 miles an hour, and during the day and night made good 57 leagues, as the wind increased somewhat during the night: 45 were counted. The sea was smooth and quiet. "To God," he says, "be many thanks given, the air being pleasant and temperate, with no weed, many sandpipers, and flying-fish coming on the deck in numbers."

Saturday, 6th of October.

The Admiral continued his west course, and during day and night they made good 40 leagues, 33 being counted. This night Martin Alonso said that it would be well to steer south of west, and it appeared to the Admiral that Martin Alonso did not say this with respect to the island of Cipango. He saw that if an error was made the land would not be reached so quickly, and that consequently it would be better to go at once to the continent and afterwards to the islands.

Sunday, 7th of October.

The west course was continued; for two hours they went at the

rate of 12 miles an hour, and afterwards 8 miles an hour. They made good 23 leagues, counting 18 for the people. This day, at sunrise, the caravel *Niña,* which went ahead, being the best sailer, and pushed forward as much as possible to sight the land first, so as to enjoy the reward which the Sovereigns had promised to whoever should see it first, hoisted a flag at the mast-head and fired a gun, as a signal that she had sighted land, for such was the Admiral's order. He had also ordered that, at sunrise and sunset, all the ships should join him; because those two times are most proper for seeing the greatest distance, the haze clearing away. No land was seen during the afternoon, as reported by the caravel *Niña,* and they passed a great number of birds flying from N. to S.W. This gave rise to belief that the birds were either going to sleep on land, or were flying from the winter which might be supposed to be near in the land whence they were coming. The Admiral was aware that most of the islands held by the Portuguese were discovered by the flight of birds. For this reason he resolved to give up the west course, and to shape a course W.S.W. for the two following days. He began the new course one hour before sunset. They made good, during the night, about 5 leagues, and 23 in the day, altogether 28 leagues.

Monday, 8th of October.

The course was W.S.W., and 11½ or 12 leagues were made good in the day and night; and at times it appears that they went at the rate of 15 miles an hour during the night (if the handwriting is not deceptive). The sea was like the river at Seville. "Thanks be to God," says the Admiral, "the air is very soft like the April at Seville; and it is a pleasure to be here, so balmy are the breezes." The weed seemed to be very fresh. There were many land-birds, and they took one that was flying to the S.W. Terns, ducks, and a booby were also seen.

Tuesday, 9th of October.

The course was S.W., and they made 5 leagues. The wind then changed, and the Admiral steered W. by N. 4 leagues. Altogether, in day and night, they made 11 leagues by day and 20½ leagues by night; counted as 17 leagues altogether. Throughout the night birds were heard passing.

Wednesday, 10th of October.

The course was W.S.W., and they went at the rate of 10 miles an hour, occasionally 12 miles, and sometimes 7. During the day and night they made 59 leagues, counted as no more than 44. Here the

people could endure no longer. They complained of the length of the voyage. But the Admiral cheered them up in the best way he could, giving them good hopes of the advantages they might gain from it. He added that, however much they might complain, he had to go to the Indies, and that he would go on until he found them, with the help of our Lord.

Thursday, 11th of October.

The course was W.S.W., and there was more sea than there had been during the whole of the voyage. They saw sandpipers, and a green reed near the ship. Those of the caravel *Pinta* saw a cane and a pole, and they took up another small pole which appeared to have been worked with iron; also another bit of cane, a land-plant, and a small board. The crew of the caravel *Niña* also saw signs of land, and a small branch covered with berries. Everyone breathed afresh and rejoiced at these signs. The run until sunset was 26 leagues.

After sunset the Admiral returned to his original west course, and they went along at the rate of 12 miles an hour. Up to two hours after midnight they had gone 90 miles, equal to 22½ leagues. As the caravel *Pinta* was a better sailer, and went ahead of the Admiral, she found the land, and made the signals ordered by the Admiral. The land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana. But the Admiral, at ten in the privious night, being on the castle of the poop, saw a light, though it was so uncertain that he could not affirm it was land. He called Pero Gutierrez, a gentleman of the King's bedchamber, and said that there seemed to be a light, and that he should look at it. He did so, and saw it. The Admiral said the same to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the King and Queen had sent with the fleet as inspector, but he could see nothing, because he was not in a place whence anything could be seen. After the Admiral had spoken he saw the light once or twice, and it was like a wax candle rising and falling. It seemed to few to be an indication of land; but the Admiral made certain that land was close. When they said the *Salve*, which all the sailors were accustomed to sing in their way, the Admiral asked and admonished the men to keep a good look-out on the forecastle, and to watch well for land; and to him who should first cry out that he saw land, he would give a silk doublet, besides the other rewards promised by the Sovereigns, which were 10,000 maravedis to him who should first see it. At two hours after midnight the land was sighted at a distance of two leagues. They shortened sail, and lay by under the mainsail without the bonnets. The vessels were

hove to, waiting for daylight; and on Friday they arrived at a small island of the Lucayos, called, in the language of the Indians, *Guanahani.* Presently they saw naked people. The Admiral went on shore in the armed boat, and Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vicente Yañez, his brother, who was captain of the *Niña.* The Admiral took the royal standard, and the captains went with two banners of the green cross, which the Admiral took in all the ships as a sign, with an F and a Y and a crown over each letter, one on one side of the cross and the other on the other. Having landed, they saw trees very green, and much water, and fruits of diverse kinds. The Admiral called to the two captains, and to the others who leaped on shore, and to Rodrigo Escovedo, secretary of the whole fleet, and to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and said that they should bear faithful testimony that he, in presence of all, had taken, as he now took, possession of the said island for the King and for the Queen, his Lords making the declarations that are required, as is more largely set forth in the testimonies which were then made in writing.

Presently many inhabitants of the island assembled. What follows is in the actual words of the Admiral in his book of the first navigation and discoveries of the Indies. "I," he says, "that we might form great friendship, for I knew that they were a people who could be more easily freed and converted to our holy faith by love than by force, gave to some of them red caps, and glass beads to put round their necks, and many other things of little value, which gave them great pleasure, and made them so much our friends that it was a marvel to see. They afterwards came to the ship's boats where we were, swimming and bringing us parrots, cotton threads in skeins, darts, and many other things; and we exchanged them for other things that we gave them, such as glass beads and small bells. In fine, they took all, and gave what they had with good will. It appeared to me to be a race of people very poor in everything. They go as naked as when their mothers bore them, and so do the women, although I did not see more than one young girl. All I saw were youths, none more than thirty years of age. They are very good countenances. Their hair is short and coarse, almost like the hairs of a horse's tail. They wear the hair brought down to the eyebrows, except a few locks behind, which they wear long and never cut. They paint themselves black, and they are the colour of the Canarians, neither black nor white. Some paint themselves white, others red, and others of what colour they find. Some paint their faces, others the whole body, some only

round the eyes, others only on the nose. They neither carry nor know anything of arms, for I showed them swords, and they took them by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their darts being wands without iron, some of them having a fish's tooth at the end, and others being pointed in various ways. They are all of fair stature and size, with good faces, and well made. I saw some with marks of wounds on their bodies, and I made signs to ask what it was, and they gave me to understand that people from other adjacent islands came with the intention of seizing them, and that they defended themselves. I believed, and still believe, that they come here from the mainland to take them prisoners. They should be good servants and intelligent, for I observed that they quickly took in what was said to them, and I believe that they would easily be made Christians, as it appeared to me that they had no religion. I, our Lord being pleased, will take hence, at the time of my departure, six natives for your Highnesses, that they may learn to speak. I saw no beast of any kind except parrots, on this island." The above is in the words of the Admiral.

Saturday, 13th of October.

"As soon as dawn broke many of these people came to the beach, all youths, as I have said, and all of good stature, a very handsome people. Their hair is not curly, but loose and coarse, like horse hair. In all the forehead is broad, more so than in any other people I have hitherto seen. Their eyes are very beautiful and not small, and themselves far from black, but the colour of the Canarians. Nor should anything else be expected, as this island is in a line east and west from the island of Hierro in the Canaries. Their legs are very straight, all in one line, and no belly, but very well formed. They came to the ship in small canoes, made out of the trunk of a tree like a long boat, and all of one piece, and wonderfully worked, considering the country. They are large, some of them holding 40 to 45 men, others smaller, and some only large enough to hold one man. They are propelled with a paddle like a baker's shovel, and go at a marvellous rate. If the canoe capsizes they all promptly begin to swim, and to bale it out with calabashes that they take with them. They brought skeins of cotton thread, parrots, darts, and other small things which it would be tedious to recount, and they give all in exchange for anything that may be given to them. I was attentive, and took trouble to ascertain if there was gold. I saw that some of them had a small piece fastened in a hole they have in the nose, and by signs I was able to make

out that to the south, or going from the island to the south, there was a king who had great cups full, and who possessed a great quantity. I tried to get them to go there, but afterwards I saw that they had no inclination. I resolved to wait until to-morrow in the afternoon, and then to depart, shaping a course to the S.W., for, according to what many of them told me, there was land to the S., to the S.W., and N.W., and that the natives from the N.W. often came to attack them, and went on to the S.W. in search of gold and precious stones.

"This island is rather large and very flat, with bright green trees, much water, and a very large lake in the centre, without any mountain, and the whole land so green that it is a pleasure to look on it. The people are very docile, and for the longing to possess our things, and not having anything to give in return, they take what they can get, and presently swim away. Still, they give away all they have got, for whatever may be given to them, down to broken bits of crockery and glass. I saw one give 16 skeins of cotton for three *ceotis* of Portugal, equal to one *blanca* of Spain, the skins being as much as an *arroba* of cotton thread. I shall keep it, and shall allow no one to take it, preserving it all for your Highnesses, for it may be obtained in abundance. It is grown in this island, though the short time did not admit of my ascertaining this for a certainty. Here also is found the gold they wear fastened in their noses. But, in order not to lose time, I intend to go and see if I can find the island of Cipango. Now, as it is night, all the natives have gone on shore with their canoes."

Sunday, 14th of October.

"At dawn I ordered the ship's boat and the boats of the caravels to be got ready, and I went along the coast of the island to the N.N.E., to see the other side, which was on the other side to the east, and also to see the villages. Presently I saw two or three, and the people all came to the shore, calling out and giving thanks to God. Some of them brought us water, others came with food, and when they saw that I did not want to land, they got into the sea, and came swimming to us. We understood that they asked us if we had come from heaven. One old man came into the boat, and others cried out, in loud voices, to all the men and women, to come and see the men who had come from heaven, and to bring them to eat and drink. Many came, including women, each bringing something, giving thanks to God, throwing themselves on the ground and shouting to us to come on shore. But I was afraid to land, seeing an extensive reef of rocks which sur-

rounded the island, with deep water between it and the shore forming a port large enough for as many ships as there are in Christendom, but with a very narrow entrance. It is true that within this reef there are some sunken rocks, but the sea has no more motion than the water in a well. In order to see all this I went this morning, that I might be able to give a full account to your Highnesses, and also where a fortress might be established. I saw a piece of land which appeared like an island, although it is not one, and on it there were six houses. It might be converted into an island in two days, though I do not see that it would be necessary, for these people are very simple as regards the use of arms, as your Highnesses will see from the seven that I caused to be taken, to bring home and learn our language and return; unless your Highnesses should order them all to be brought to Castille, or to be kept as captives on the same island; for with fifty men they can all be subjugated and made to do what is required of them. Close to the above peninsula there are gardens of the most beautiful trees I ever saw, and with leaves as green as those of Castille in the month of April and May, and much water. I examined all that port, and afterwards I returned to the ship and made sail. I saw so many islands that I hardly knew how to determine to which I should go first. Those natives I had with me said, by signs, that there were so many that they could not be numbered, and they gave the names of more than a hundred. At last I looked out for the largest, and resolved to shape a course for it, and so I did. It will be distant five legaues from this of *San Salvador,* and the others some more, some less. All are very flat, and all are inhabited. The natives make war on each other, although these are very simple-minded and handsomely-formed people."

Monday, 15th of October.

"I had laid by during the night, with the fear of reaching the land to anchor before daylight, not knowing whether the coast was clear of rocks, and at dawn I made sail. As the island was more than 5 leagues distant and nearer 7, and the tide checked my way, it was noon when we arrived at the said island. I found that side facing towards the Island of San Salvador trended north and south with a length of 5 leagues, and the other which I followed ran east and west for more than 10 leagues. As from this island I saw another larger one to the west, I clued up the sails, after having run all that day until night, otherwise I could have not reached the western cape. I gave the name of *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* to the island, and almost

as the sun set I anchored near the said cape to ascertain if it contained gold. For the people I had taken from the island of San Salvador told me that here they wore very large rings of gold on their arms and legs. I really believed that all they said was nonsense, invented that they might escape. My desire was not to pass any island without taking possession, so that, one having been taken, the same may be said of all. I anchored, and remained until to-day, Tuesday, when I went to the shore with the boats armed, and landed. The people, who were numerous, went naked, and were like those of the other island, and gave us what we required. As the wind changed to the S.E., I did not like to stay, and returned to the ship. A large canoe was alongside the *Niña*, and one of the men of the island of San Salvador, who was on board, jumped into the sea and got into the canoe. In the middle of the night before, another swam away behind the canoe, which fled, for there never was boat that could have overtaken her, seeing that in speed they have a great advantage. So they reached the land and left the canoe. Some of my people went on shore in chase of them, but they all fled like fowls, and the canoe they had left was brought alongside the caravel *Niña*, whither, from another direction, another small canoe came, with a man who wished to barter with skeins of cotton. Some sailors jumped into the sea, because he would not come on board the caravel, and seized him. I was on the poop of my ship, and saw everything. So I sent for the man, gave him a red cap, some small beads of green glass, which I put on his arms, and small bells, which I put in his ears, and ordered his canoe, which was also on board, to be returned to him. I sent him on shore, and presently made sail to go to the other large island which was in sight to be westward. I also ordered the other large canoe, which the caravel *Niña* was towing astern, to be cast adrift; and I soon saw that it reached the land at the same time as the man to whom I had given the above things. I had not wished to take the skein of cotton that he offered me. All the others came round him and seemed astonished, for it appeared clear to them that we were good people. The other man who had fled might do us some harm, because we had carried him off, and for that reason I ordered this man to be set free and gave him the above things, that he might think well of us, otherwise, when your Highnesses again send an expedition, they might not be friendly. All the presents I gave were not worth four maravedis. At 10 we departed with the wind S.W., and made for the south, to reach that other island, which is very large, and respecting which all the men that

I bring from San Salvador make signs that there is much gold, and that they wear it as bracelets on the arms, on the legs, in the ears and nose, and round the neck. The distance of the island from that of Santa Maria is 9 leagues on a course east to west. All this part of the island trends N.W. and S.E., and it appeared that this coast must have a length of 28 leagues. It is very flat, without any mountain, like San Salvador and Santa Maria, all being beach without rocks, except that there are some sunken rocks near the land, whence it is necessary to keep a good lookout when it is desired to anchor, and not to come to very near the land; but the water is always very clear, and the bottom is visible. At a distance of two shots of a lombard, there is, off all these islands, such a depth that the bottom cannot be reached. These islands are very green and fertile, the climate very mild. They may contain many things of which I have no knowledge, for I do not wish to stop, in discovering and visiting many islands, to find gold. These people make signs that it is worn on the arms and legs; and it must be gold, for they point to some pieces that I have. I cannot err, with the help of our Lord, in finding out where this gold has its origin. Being in the middle of the channel between these two islands, that is to say, that of Santa Maria and this large one, to which I give the name of *Fernandina,* I came upon a man alone in a canoe going from Santa Maria to Fernandina. He had a little of their bread, about the size of a fist, a calabash of water, a piece of brown earth powdered and then kneaded, and some dried leaves, which must be a thing highly valued by them, for they bartered with it at San Salvador. He also had with him a native basket with a string of glass beads, and two *blancas,* by which I knew that he had come from the island of San Salvador, and had been to Santa Maria, and thence to Fernandina. He came alongside the ship, and I made him come on board as he desired, also getting the canoe inboard, and taking care of all his property. I ordered him to be given to eat bread and treacle, and also to drink: and so I shall take him on to Fernandina, where I shall return everything to him, in order that he may give a good account of us, that, our Lord pleasing, when your Highnesses shall send here, those who come may receive honor, and that the natives may give them all they require."

Tuesday, 16th of October.

"I sailed from the island of Santa Maria de la Concepcion at about noon, to go to Fernandina island, which appeared very large to the westward, and I navigated all that day with light winds. I could not

arrive in time to be able to see the bottom, so as to drop the anchor on a clear place, for it is necessary to be very careful not to lose the anchors. So I stood off and on all that night until day, when I came to an inhabited place where I anchored, and whence that man had come that I found yesterday in the canoe in mid channel. He had given such a good report of us that there was no want of canoes alongside the ship all that night, which brought us water and what they had to offer. I ordered each one to be given something, such as a few beads, ten or twelve of those made of glass on a thread, some timbrels made of brass such as are worth a maravedi in Spain, and some straps, all which they looked upon as most excellent. I also ordered them to be given treacle to eat when they came on board. At three o'clock I sent the ship's boat on shore for water, and the natives with good will showed my people where the water was, and they themselves brought the full casks down to the boat, and did all they could to please us.

"This island is very large, and I have determined to sail round it, because, so far as I can understand, there is a mine in or near it. The island is eight leagues from Santa Maria, nearly east and west; and this point I had reached, as well as all the coast, trends N.N.W. and S.S.E. I saw at least 20 leagues of it, and then it had not ended. Now, as I am writing this, I made sail with the wind at the south, to sail round the island, and to navigate until I find *Samaot,* which is the island or city where there is gold, as all the natives say who are on board, and as those of San Salvador and Santa Maria told us. These people resemble those of the said islands, with the same language and customs, except that these appear to me a rather more domestic and tractable people, yet also more subtle. For I observed that those who brought cotton and other trifles to the ship, knew better that the others how to make a bargain. In this island I saw cotton cloths made like mantles. The people were better disposed, and the women wore in front of their bodies a small piece of cotton which scarcely covered them.

"It is a very green island, level and very fertile, and I have no doubt that they sow and gather corn all the year round, as well as other things. I saw many trees very unlike those of our country. Many of them have their branches growing in different ways and all from one trunk, and one twig is one form, and another in a different shape, and so unlike that it is the greatest wonder in the world to see the great diversity; thus one branch has leaves like those of a cane, and

others like those of a mastick tree: and on a single tree there are five or six different kinds. Nor are these grafted, for it may be said that grafting is unknown, the trees being wild, and untended by these people. They do not know any religion, and I believe they could easily be converted to Christianity, for they are very intelligent. Here the fish are so unlike ours that it is wonderful. Some are the shape of dories, and of the finest colours in the world, blue, yellow, red, and other tints, all painted in various ways, and the colours are so bright that there is not a man who would not be astonished, and would not take great delight in seeing them. There are also whales. I saw no beasts on the land of any kind, except parrots and lizards. A boy told me that he saw a large serpent. I saw neither sheep, nor goats, nor any other quadruped. It is true I have been here a short time, since noon, yet I could not have failed to see some if there had been any. I will write respecting the circuit of this island after I have been round it."

VASCO DA GAMA

Vasco da Gama was born about 1460 at Sines, Portugal. Both Prince John and Prince Manuel continued the efforts of Prince Henry to find a sea route to India, and in 1497 Manuel placed Vasco da Gama, who already had some reputation as a warrior and navigator, in charge of four vesselts built especially for the expedition. They set sail July 8, 1497, rounded the cape of Good Hope four months later, and reached Calicut (Calcutta) May 20, 1498. The Moors in Calcutta instigated the zamorin (ruler) against him, and he was compelled to return with the bare discovery. A force left by a second expedition under Cabral (who discovered Brazil by going too far west), was killed by the natives at Calcutta, and Vasco da Gama was sent on a mission of vengeance in 1502. He bombarded Calicut and returned with great spoil, but was again sent out in 1524 to be viceroy of India. He died at Cochin on Christmas eve of the same year.

His expedition turned the commerce of Europe from the Mediterranean cities to the Atlantic coast, and opened up the east to European enterprise.

ROUND AFRICA TO INDIA

The Bay of St. Helena.

On Tuesday (November 7) we returned to the land, which we found to be low, with a broad bay opening into it. The captain-major sent Pero d'Alenquer in a boat to take soundings and to search for good anchoring ground. The bay was found to be very clean, and to afford shelter against all winds except those from the N.W. It extended east and west, and we named it Santa Helena.

On Wednesday (November 8) we cast anchor in this bay, and we remained there eight days, cleaning the ships, mending the sails, and taking in wood.

The river Samtiagua (S. Thiago) enters the bay four leagues to the S.E. of the anchorage. It comes from the interior (sertao), is about a stone's throw across at the mouth, and from two to three fathoms in depth at all states of the tide.

The inhabitants of this country are tawny-coloured. Their food is confined to the flesh of seals, whales and gazelles, and the roots of herbs. They are dressed in skins, and wear sheaths over their virile members. They are armed with poles of olive wood to which a horn, browned in the fire, is attached. Their numerous dogs resemble those of Portugal, and bark like them. The birds of the country, likewise, are the same as in Portugal, and include cormorants, gulls, turtle doves, crested larks, and many others. The climate is healthy and temporate, and produces good herbage.

On the day after we had cast anchor, that is to say on Thursday (November 9), we landed with the captain-major, and made captive one of the natives, who was small of stature like Sancho Mexia. This man had been gathering honey in the sandy waste, for in this country the bees deposit their honey at the foot of the mounds around the bushes. He was taken on board the captain-major's ship, and being placed at table he ate of all we ate. On the following day the captain-major had him well dressed and sent ashore.

On the following day (November 10) fourteen or fifteen natives came to where our ship lay. The captain-major landed and showed them a variety of merchandise, with the view of finding out whether such things were to be found in their country. This merchandise included cinnamon, cloves, seed-pearls, gold, and many other things,

but it was evident that they had no knowledge whatever of such articles, and they were consequently given round bells and tin rings. This happened on Friday, and the like took place on Saturday.

On Sunday (November 12) about forty or fifty natives made their appearance, and having dined, we landed, and in exchange for the çeitils with which we came provided, we obtained shells, which they wore as ornaments in their ears, and which looked as if they had been plated, and foxtails attached to a handle, with which they fanned their faces. I also acquired for one çeitil one of the sheaths which they wore over their members, and this seemed to show that they valued copper very highly; indeed, they wore small beads of that metal in their ears.

On that day Fernao Velloso, who was with the captain-major, expressed a great desire to be permitted to accompany the natives to their houses, so that he might find out how they lived and what they ate. The captain-major yielded to his importunities, and allowed him to accompany them, and when we returned to the captain-major's vessel to sup, he went away with the negroes. Soon after they had left us they caught a seal, and when they came to the foot of a hill in a barren place they roasted it, and gave some of it to Fernao Velloso, as also some of the roots which they eat. After this meal they expressed a desire that he should not accompany them any further, but return to the vessels. When Fernao Velloso came abreast of the vessels he began to shout, the negroes keeping in the bush.

We were still at supper; but when his shouts were heard the captain-major rose at once, and so did we others, and we entered a sailing boat. The negroes then began running along the beach, and they came as quickly up with Fernao Velloso as we did, and when we endeavoured to get him into the boat they threw their assegais, and wounded the captain-major and three or four others. All this happened because we looked upon these people as men of little spirit, quite incapable of violence, and had therefore landed without first arming ourselves. We then returned to the ships.

Rounding the Cape.

At daybreak of Thursday the 16th of November, having careened our ships and taken in wood, we set sail. At that time we did not know how far we might be abaft the Cape of Good Hope. Pero d'Alenquer thought the distance about thirty leagues, but he was not certain, for on his return voyage (when with B. Dias) he had left the Cape in the morning and had gone past this bay with the wind astern,

whilst on the outward voyage he had kept at sea, and was therefore unable to identify the locality where we now were. We therefore stood out towards S.S.W., and late on Saturday (November 18) we beheld the Cape. On that same day we again stood out to sea, returning to the land in the course of the night. On Sunday morning, November 19, we once more made for the Cape, but were again unable to round it, for the wind blew from the S.S.W., whilst the Cape juts out towards S.W. We then again stood out to sea, returning to the land on Monday night. At last, on Wednesday (November 22), at noon, having the wind astern, we succeeded in doubling the Cape, and then ran along the coast.

To the south of this Cape of Good Hope, and close to it, a vast bay, six leagues broad at its mouth, enters about six leagues into the land.

Calecut.

[*Arrival.*] That night (May 20) we anchored two leagues from the city of Calecut, and we did so because our pilot mistook *Capua,* a town at that place, for Calecut. Still further there is another town called *Pandarani.* We anchored about a league and a half from the shore. After we were at anchor, four boats (*almadias*) approached us from the land, who asked of what nation we were. We told them, and they then pointed out Calecut to us.

On the following day (May 21) these same boats came again alongside, when the captain-major sent one of the convicts to Calecut, and those with whom he went took him to two Moors from Tunis, who could speak Castilian and Genoese. The first greeting that he received was in these words: "May the Devil take thee! What brought you hither?" They asked what he sought so far away from home, and he told them that we came in search of Christians and of spices. They said: "Why does not the King of Castile, the King of France, or the Signoria of Venice send thither?" He said that the King of Portugal would not consent to their doing so, and they said he did the right thing. After this conversation they took him to their lodgings and gave him wheaten bread and honey. When he had eaten he returned to the ships, accompanied by one of the Moors, who was no sooner on board, than he said these words: "A lucky venture, a lucky venture! Plenty of rubies, plenty of emeralds! You owe great thanks to God, for having brought you to a country holding such riches!" We were greatly astonished to hear his talk, for we never expected to hear our language spoken so far away from Portugal.

[*A description of Calecut.*] The city of Calecut is inhabited by Christians. [The first voyagers to India mistook the Buddhists for Christians.] They are of tawny complexion. Some of them have big beards and long hair, whilst others clip their hair short or shave the head, merely allowing a tuft to remain on the crown as a sign that they are Christians. They also wear moustaches. They pierce the ears and wear much gold in them. They go naked down to the waist, covering their lower extremities with very fine cotton stuffs. But it is only the most respectable who do this, for the others manage as best they are able.

The women of this country, as a rule, are ugly and of small stature. They wear many jewels of gold round the neck, numerous bracelets on their arms, and rings set with precious stones on their toes. All these people are well-disposed and apparently of mild temper. At first sight they seem covetous and ignorant.

[*A message sent to the King.*] When we arrived at Calecut the king was fifteen leagues away. The captain-major sent two men to him with a message, informing him that an ambassador had arrived from the King of Portugal with letters, and that if he desired it he would take them to where the king then was.

The king presented the bearers of this message with much fine cloth. He sent word to the captain bidding him welcome, saying that he was about to proceed to Qualecut (Calecut). As a matter of fact, he started at once with a large retinue.

[*At Anchor at Pandarani,* May 27.] A pilot accompanied our two men, with orders to take us to a place called Pandarani, below the place (Capua) where we anchored at first. At this time we were actually in front of the city of Calecut. We were told that the anchorage at the place to which we were to go was good, whilst at the place we were then it was bad, with a stony bottom, which was quite true; and, moreover, that it was customary for the ships which came to this country to anchor there for the sake of safety. We ourselves did not feel comfortable, and the captain-major had no sooner received this royal message than he ordered the sails to be set, and we departed. We did not, however, anchor as near the shore as the king's pilot desired.

When we were at anchor, a message arrived informing the captain-major that the king was already in the city. At the same time the king sent a *bale,* with other men of distinction, to Pandarani, to conduct the captain-major to where the king awaited him. This *bale*

is like an *alcaide,* and is always attended by two hundred men armed with swords and bucklers. As it was late when this message arrived, the captain-major deferred going.

[*Gama goes to Calecut.*] On the following morning, which was Monday, May 28th, the captain-major set out to speak to the king, and took with him thirteen men, of whom I was one. We put on our best attire, placed bombards in our boats, and took with us trumpets and many flags. On landing, the captain-major was received by the *alcaide,* with whom were many men, armed and unarmed. The reception was friendly, as if the people were pleased to see us, though at first appearances looked threatening, for they carried naked swords in their hands. A palanquin was provided for the captain-major, such as is used by men of distinction in that country, as also by some of the merchants, who pay something to the king for this privilege. The captain-major entered the palanquin, which was carried by six men by turns. Attended by all these people we took the road of Qualecut, and came first to another town, called Capua. The captain-major was there deposited at the house of a man of rank, whilst we others were provided with food, consisting of rice, with much butter, and excellent boiled fish. The captain-major did not wish to eat, and as we had done so, we embarked on a river close by, which flows between the sea and the mainland, close to the coast. The two boats in which we embarked were lashed together, so that we were not separated. There were numerous other boats, all crowded with people. As to those who were on the banks I say nothing; their number was infinite, and they had all come to see us. We went up that river for about a league, and saw many large ships drawn up high and dry on its banks, for there is no port here.

When we disembarked, the captain-major once more entered his palanquin. The road was crowded with a countles multitude anxious to see us. Even the women came out of their houses with children in their arms and followed us.

[*A Christian Church.*] When we arrived (at Calecut) they took us to a large church, and this is what we saw:—

The body of the church is as large as a monastery, all built of hewn stone and covered with tiles. At the main entrance rises a pillar of bronze as high as a mast, on the top of which was perched a bird, apparently a cock. In addition to this, there was another pillar as high as a man, and very stout. In the centre of the body of the church rose a chapel, all built of hewn stone, with a bronze door suf-

ficiently wide for a man to pass, and stone steps leading up to it. Within this sanctuary stood a small image which they said represented Our Lady. Along the walls, by the main entrance, hung seven small bells. In this church the captain-major said his prayers, and we with him.

We did not go within the chapel, for it is the custom that only certain servants of the church, called *quafees,* should enter. These *quafees* wore some threads passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, in the same manner as our deacons wear the stole. They threw holy water over us, and gave us some white earth, which the Christians of this country are in the habit of putting on their foreheads, breasts, around the neck, and on the forearms. They threw holy water upon the captain-major and gave him some of the earth, which he gave in charge of someone, giving them to understand that he would put it on later.

Many other saints were painted on the walls of the church, wearing crowns. They were painted variously, with teeth protruding an inch from the mouth, and four or five arms.

Below this church there was a large masonry tank, similar to many others which we had seen along the road.

[*Progress through the Town.*] After we had left that place, and had arrived at the entrance to the city (of Calecut) we were shown another church, where we saw things like those described above. Here the crowd grew so dense that progress along the street became next to impossible, and for this reason they put the captain into a house, and us with him.

The king sent a brother of the *bale,* who was a lord of this country, to accompany the captain, and he was attended by men beating drums, blowing *anafils* and bagpipes, and firing off matchlocks. In conducting the captain they showed us much respect, more than is shown in Spain to a king. The number of people was countless, for in addition to those who surrounded us, and among whom there were two thousand armed men, they crowded the roofs and houses.

[*The King's Palace.*] The further we advanced in the direction of the king's palace, the more did they increase in number. And when we arrived there, men of much distinction and great lords came out to meet the captain, and joined those who were already in attendance upon him. It was then an hour before sunset. When we reached the palace we passed through a gate into a courtyard of great size, and before we arrived at where the king was, we passed four doors,

through which we had to force our way, giving many blows to the people. When, at last, we reached the door were the king was, there came forth from it a little old man, who holds a position resembling that of a bishop, and whose advice the king acts upon in all affairs of the church. This man embraced the captain when he entered the door. Several men were wounded at this door, and we only got in by the use of much force.

[*A Royal Audience, May 28.*] The king was in a small court, reclining upon a couch covered with a cloth of green velvet, above which was a good mattress, and upon this again a sheet of cotton stuff, very white and fine, more so than any linen. The cushions were after the same fashion. In his left hand the king held a very large golden cup (spittoon), having a capacity of half an almude (8 pints). At its mouth this cup was two palmas (16 inches) wide, and apparently it was massive. Into this cup the king threw the husks of a certain herb which is chewed by the people of this country because of its soothing effects, and which they call *atambor*. On the right side of the king stood a basin of gold, so large that a man might just encircle it with his arms: this contained the herbs. There were likewise many silver jugs. The canopy above the couch was all gilt.

The captain, on entering, saluted in the manner of the country: by putting the hands together, then raising them towards Heaven, as is done by Christians when addressing God, and immediately afterwards opening them and shutting fists quickly. The king beckoned to the captain with his right hand to come nearer, but the captain did not approach him, for it is the custom of the country for no man to approach the king except only the servant who hands him the herbs, and when anyone addresses the king he holds his hand before the mouth, and remains at a distance. When the king beckoned to the captain he looked at us others, and ordered us to be seated on a stone bench near him, where he could see us. He ordered that water for our hands should be given us, as also some fruit, one kind of which resembled a melon, except that its outside was rough and the inside sweet, whilst another kind of fruit resembled a fig, and tasted very nice. There were men who prepared these fruits for us; and the king looked at us eating, and smiled; and talked to the servant who stood near him supplying him with the herbs referred to.

Then, throwing his eyes on the captain, who sat facing him, he invited him to address himself to the courtiers present, saying they

were men of much distinction, that he could tell them whatever he desired to say, and they would repeat it to him (the king). The captain-major replied that he was the ambassador of the King of Portugal, and the bearer of a message which he could only deliver to him personally. The king said this was good, and immediately asked him to be conducted to a chamber. When the captain-major had entered, the king, too, rose and joined him, whilst we remained where we were. All this happened about sunset. An old man who was in the court took away the couch as soon as the king rose, but allowed the plate to remain. The king, when he joined the captain, threw himself upon another couch, covered with various stuffs embroidered in gold, and asked the captain what he wanted.

And the captain told him he was the ambassador of a King of Portugal, who was Lord of many countries and the possessor of great wealth of every description, exceeding that of any king of these parts; that for a period of sixty years his ancestors had annually sent out vessels to make discoveries in the direction of India, as they knew that there were Christian kings there like themselves. This, he said, was the reason which induced them to order this country to be discovered, not because they sought for gold or silver, for of this they had such abundance that they needed not what was to be found in this country. He further stated that the captains sent out travelled for a year or two, until their provisions were exhausted, and then returned to Portugal, without having succeeded in making the desired discovery. There reigned a king now whose name was Dom Manuel, who had ordered him to build three vessels, of which he had been appointed captain-major, and who had ordered him not to return to Portugal until he should have discovered this King of the Christians, on pain of having his head cut off. That two letters had been intrusted to him to be presented in case he succeeded in discovering him, and that he would do so on the ensuing day; and, finally, he had been instructed to say by word of mouth that he [the King of Portugal] desired to be his friend and brother.

In reply to this the king said that he was welcome; that, on his part, he held him as a friend and brother, and would send ambassadors with him to Portugal. This latter had been asked as a favour, the captain pretending that he would not dare to present himself before his king and master unless he was able to present, at the same time, some men of this country.

These and many other things passed between the two in this cham-

ber, and as it was already late in the night, the king asked the captain with whom he desired to lodge, with Christians or with Moors? And the captain replied, neither with Christians nor with Moors, and begged as a favour that he be given a lodging by himself. The king said he would order it thus, upon which the captain took leave of the king and came to where we were, that is, to a veranda lit up by a huge candlestick. By that time four hours of the night had already gone.

[*A Night's Lodging.*] We then all went forth with the captain in search of our lodgings, and a countless crowd with us. And the rain poured down so heavily that the streets ran with water. The captain went on the back of six men [in a palanquin], and the time occupied in passing through the city was so long that the captain at last grew tired, and complained to the king's factor, a Moor of distinction, who attended him to the lodgings. The Moor then took him to his own house, and we were admitted to a court within it, where there was a veranda roofed in with tiles. Many carpets had been spread, and there were two large candlesticks like those at the Royal palace. At the top of each of these were great iron lamps, fed with oil or butter, and each lamp had four wicks, which gave much light. These lamps they use instead of torches.

This same Moor then had a horse brought for the captain to take him to his lodgings, but it was without a saddle, and the captain refused to mount it. We then started for our lodgings, and when we arrived we found there some of our men [who had come from the ships] with the captain's bed, and with numerous other things which the captain had brought as presents for the king.

[*Presents for the King.*] On Tuesday [May 29] the captain got ready the following things to be sent to the king, viz., twelve pieces of *lambel,* four scarlet hoods, six hats, four strings of coral, a case containng six wash-hand basins, a case of sugar, two casks of oil, and two of honey. And as it is the custom not to send anything to the king without the knowledge of the Moor, his factor, and of the *bale,* the captain informed them of his intention. They came, and when they saw the present they laughed at it, saying that it was not a thing to offer to a king, that the poorest merchant from Mecca, or any other part of India, gave more, and that if he wanted to make a present it should be in gold, as the king would not accept such things. When the captain heard this he grew sad, and said that he had brought no gold, that, moreover, he was no merchant, but an ambassador; that he gave of that which he had, which was his own

[private gift] and not the king's; that if the King of Portugal ordered him to return he would intrust him with far richer presents; and that if King Camolim would not accept these things he would send them back to the ships. Upon this they declared that they would not forward his presents, nor consent to his forwarding them himself. When they had gone there came certain Moorish merchants, and they all depreciated the present which the captain desired to be sent to the king.

When the captain saw that they were determined not to forward his present, he said, that as they would not allow him to send his present to the palace he would go to speak to the king, and would then return to the ships. They approved of this, and told him that if he would wait a short time they would return and accompany him to the palace. And the captain waited all day, but they never came back. The captain was very wroth at being among so phlegmatic and unreliable a people, and intended, at first, to go to the palace without them. On further consideration, however, he thought it best to wait until the following day. As to us others, we diverted ourselves, singing and dancing to the sound of trumpets, and enjoyed ourselves much.

[*A Second Audience, May* 30.] On Wednesday morning the Moors returned, and took the captain to the palace, and us others with him. The palace was crowded with armed men. Our captain was kept waiting with his conductors for fully four long hours, outside a door, which was only opened when the king sent word to admit him, attended by two men only, whom he might select. The captain said that he desired to have Fernao Martins with him, who could interpret, and his secretary. It seemed to him, as it did to us, that this separation portended no good.

When he had entered, the king said that he had expected him on Tuesday. The captain said that the long road had tired him, and that for this reason he had not come to see him. The king then said that he had told him that he came from a very rich kingdom, and yet had brought him nothing; that he had also told him that he was the bearer of a letter, which had not yet been delivered. To this the captain rejoined that he had brought nothing, because the object of his voyage was merely to make discoveries, but that when other ships came he would then see what they brought him; as to the letter, it was true that he had brought one, and would deliver it immediately.

The king then asked what it was he had come to discover: stones or men? If he came to discover men, as he said, why had he brought

nothing? Moreover, he had been told that he carried with him the golden image of a Santa Maria. The captain said that the Santa Maria was not of gold, and that even if she were he would not part with her, as she had guided him across the ocean, and would guide him back to his own country. The king then asked for the letter. The captain said that he begged as a favour, that as the Moors wished him ill and might misinterpret him, a Christian able to speak Arabic should be sent for. The king said this was well, and at once sent for a young man, of small stature, whose name was Quaram. The captain then said that he had two letters, one written in his own language and the other in that of the Moors; that he was able to read the former, and knew that it contained nothing but what would prove acceptable; but that as to the other he was unable to read it, and it might be good, or contain something that was erroneous. As the Christian was unable to *read* Moorish, four Moors took the letter and read it between them, after which they translated it to the king, who was well satisfied with its contents.

The king then asked what kind of merchandise was to be found in his country. The captain said there was much corn, cloth, iron, bronze, and many other things. The king asked whether he had any merchandise with him. The captain replied that he had a little of each sort, as samples, and that if permitted to return to the ships he would order it to be landed, and that meantime four or five men would remain at the lodgings assigned them. The king said no! He might take all his people with him, securely moor his ships, land his merchandise, and sell it to the best advantage. Having taken leave of the king the captain returned to his lodgings, and we with him. As it was already late no attempt was made to depart that night.

[*Return to Pandarani, May* 31.] On Thursday morning a horse without a saddle was brought to the captain, who declined to mount it, asking that a horse of the country, that is a palanquin, might be provided, as he could not ride a horse without a saddle. He was then taken to the house of a wealthy merchant of the name of Guzerate, who ordered a palanquin to be got ready. On its arrival the captain started at once for Pandarani, where our ships were, many people following him. We others, not being able to keep up with him, were left behind. Trudging thus along we were overtaken by the *bale,* who passed on to join the captain. We lost our way, and wandered far inland, but the *bale* sent a man after us, who put us on the right road. When we reached Pandarani we found the captain inside a rest-

house, of which there were many along the road, so that travellers and wayfarers might find protection against the rain.

[*Detention at Pandarani, May* 31 *to June* 2.]. The *bale* and many others were with the captain. On our arrival the captain asked the *bale* for an *almadia,* so that we might go to our ships; but the *bale* and the others said that it was already late—in fact, the sun had set—and that he should go next day. The captain said that unless he provided an *almadia* he would return to the king, who had given orders to take him back to the ships, whilst they tried to detain him—a very bad thing, as he was a Christian like themselves. When they saw the dark looks of the captain they said he was at liberty to depart at once, and that they would give him thirty *almadias* if he needed them. They then took us along the beach, and as it seemed to the captain that they harboured some evil design, he sent three men in advance, with orders that in case they found the ship's boats and his brother, to tell him to conceal himself. They went, and finding nothing, turned back; but as we had been taken in another direction we did not meet.

They then took us to the house of a Moor—for it was already far in the night—and when we got there they told us they would go in search of the three men who had not yet returned. When they were gone, the captain ordered fowls and rice to be purchased, and we ate, notwithstanding our fatigue, having been all day on our legs.

Those who had gone [in search of the three men] only returned in the morning, and the captain said that after all they seemed well disposed towards us, and had acted with the best intentions when they objected to our departure the day before. On the other hand we suspected them on account of what had happened at Calecut, and looked upon them as ill-disposed.

When they returned [June 1] the captain again asked for boats to take him to his ships. They then began to whisper among themselves, and said that we should have them if we would order our vessels to come nearer the shore. The captain said that if he ordered his vessels to approach his brother would think that he was being held a prisoner, and would hoist the sails and return to Portugal. They said that if we refused to order the ships to come nearer we should not be permitted to embark. The captain that said King Camolin had sent him back to his ships, and that as they would not let him go, as ordered by the king, he should return to the king, who was a Christian like himself. If the king would not let him go, and wanted him to remain in his country, he would do so with much

pleasure. They agreed that he should be permitted to go, but afforded him no opportunity for doing so, for they immediately closed all the doors, and many armed men entered to guard us, none of us being allowed to go outside without being accompanied by several of these guards.

They then asked us to give up our sails and rudders. The captain declared that he would give up none of these things: King Camolin having unconditionally ordered him to return to his ships, they might do with him whatever they liked, but he would give up nothing.

The captain and we others felt very down-hearted, though outwardly we pretended not to notice what they did. The captain said that as they refused him permission to go back, they would at least allow his men to do so, as at the place they were in they would die of hunger. But they said that we must remain where we were, and that if we died of hunger we must bear it, as they cared nothing for that. Whilst thus detained, one of the men whom we had missed the night before turned up. He told the captain that Nicolau Coelho had been awaiting him with the boats since last night. When the captain heard this he sent a man away secretly to Nicolau Coelho, because of the guards by whom we were surrounded, with orders to go back to the ships and place them in a secure place. Nicolau Coelho, on receipt of this message, departed forthwith. But our guards having information of what was going on, at once launched a large number of *almadias* and pursued him for a short distance. When they found that they could not overtake him they returned to the captain, whom they asked to write a letter to his brother, requesting him to bring the ships nearer to the land and further within the port [roadstead]. The captain said he was quite willing, but that his brother would not do this; and that even if he consented those who were with him, not being willing to die, would not do so. But they asked how this could be, as they knew well that any order he gave would be obeyed.

The captain did not wish the ships to come within the port, for it seemed to him—as it did to us—that once inside they could easily be captured, after which they would first kill him, and us others, as we were already in their power.

We passed all that day most anxiously. At night more people surrounded us than ever before, and we were no longer allowed to walk in the compound, within which we were, but confined within a small tiled court, with a multitude of people around us. We quite expected that on the following day we should be separated, or that some

harm would befall us, for we noticed that our goalers were much annoyed with us. This, however, did not prevent our making a good supper off the things found in the village. Throughout that night we were guarded by over a hundred men, all armed with swords, two-edged battle-axes, shields, and bows and arrows. Whilst some of these slept, others kept guard, each taking his turn of duty throughout the night.

On the following day, Saturday, June 2, in the morning, these gentlemen [*i.e.*, the *bale* and others] came back, and this time they "wore better faces." They told the captain that as he had informed the king that he intended to land his merchandise, he should now give orders to have this done, as it was the custom of the country that every ship on its arrival should at once land the merchandise it brought, as also the crews, and that the vendors should not return on board until the whole of it had been sold. The captain consented, and said he would write to his brother to see to its being done. They said this was well, and that immediately after the arrival of the merchandise he would be permitted to return to his ship. The captain at once wrote to his brother to send him certain things, and he did so at once. On their receipt the captian was allowed to go on board, two men remaining behind with the things that had been landed.

At this we rejoiced greatly, and rendered thanks to God for having extricated us from the hands of people who had no more sense than beasts, for we knew well that once the captain was on board those who had been landed would have nothing to fear. When the captain reached his ship he ordered that no more merchandise should be sent.

MAGELLAN'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

FERDINAND MAGELLAN was born about 1470 of noble parents, and probably spent his boyhood as a page of the Queen of Portugal. As a young man he was in the East India service, then in Morocco. After a slight from King Manuel, he enlisted under the Spanish king, and set forth his project for a trip round the world. The expedition set sail August 10, 1519. Magellan was killed in April 1521 at Zebu, but they had already reached the eastern edge of the known world, and his men completed the voyage to Spain.

The narrative of the trip as told by the Genoese pilot is given below. It shows that Magellan was a man of indomitable will, who persevered in his expedition in spite of shipwreck, storm and mutiny.

The voyage proved that the earth is round, and showed that it was not safe to trust to the Church fathers for scientific wisdom. The fathers had believed such a thing impossible and the idea to be verging on heterodoxy. The thing had been done, and the time had come for Copernicus to advance another doctrine that was thought heretical, the one that the earth was not only round, but a planet that went round the sun.

There is another good account of the voyage of Magellan by Pigafetta. It is translated in the publications of the Hakluyt Society. No record was left by Magellan himself concerning his voyage.

NAVIGATION AND VOYAGE WHICH FERNANDO DE MAGALHAES MADE FROM SEVILLE TO MALUCO IN THE YEAR 1519

(BY A GENOESE PILOT)

He sailed from Seville on the 10th day of August of the said year, and remained at the bar until the 21st day of September, and as soon as he got outside, he steered to the southwest to make the island of Tenerife, and they reached the said island on the day of St. Michael, which was the 29th of September. Thence he made his course to fetch the Cape Verde islands, and they passed between the islands and the Cape without sighting either the one or the other. Having got as far as this neighbourhood, he shaped his course so as to make for Brazil, and as soon as they sighted the other coast of Brazil, he steered to the southeast along the coast as far as Cabo-frio, which is in twenty-three degrees south latitude; and from this cape he steered to the west, a matter of thirty leagues, to make the Rio de Janeiro, which is in the same latitude as Cabo-frio, and they entered the said Rio on the day of St. Lucy, which was the 13th December, in which place they took in wood, and they remained there until the first octave of Christmas, which was the 26th of December of the same year.

They sailed from this Rio de Paneiro on the 26th December, and navigated along the coast to make the Cape of St. Mary, which is in thirty-four degrees and two-thirds; as soon as they sighted it, they made their course west-northwest, thinking they would find a passage for their voyage, and they found that they had got into a great river of fresh water, to which they gave the name of river of St. Christopher, and it is in thirty-four degrees, and they remained in it till the 2nd of February, 1520.

He sailed from this river of St. Christopher on the 2nd of the said month of February; they navigated along the said coast, and further on to the south they discovered a point which is in the same river more to the south, to which they gave the name of Point St. Antony; it is in thirty-six degrees, hence they ran to the south-west, a matter of twenty-five leagues, and made another cape which they named Cape St. Apelonia, which is in thirty-six degrees; thence they navigated to the west-south-west to some shoals, which they named Shoals of the Currents, which are in thirty-nine degrees; and thence

they navigated out to sea, and lost sight of land for a matter of two or three days, when they again made for the land, and they came to a bay, which they entered, and ran within it the whole day, thinking that there was an outlet for Maluco, and when night came they found that it was quite closed up, and in the same night they again stood out by the way which they had come in. This bay is in thirty-four degrees; they name it the island of St. Matthew. They navigated from this island of St. Matthew along the coast until they reached another bay, where they caught many sea-wolves and birds; to this they gave the name of "Bay of Labours;" it is in thirty-seven degrees; here they were near losing the flag-ship in a storm. Thence they navigated along the said coast, and arrived on the last day of March of the year 1520 at the Port of St. Julian, which is in forty-nine and one-third degrees, and here they wintered, and found the day a little more or less than seven hours.

In this port three of the ships rose up against the Captain-major, their captains saying that they intended to take him to Castile in arrest, as he was taking them all to destruction. Here, through the exertions of the said Captain-major, and the assistance and favour of the foreigners whom he carried with him, the Captain-major went to the said three ships which were already mentioned, and there the captain of one of them was killed, who was treasurer of the whole fleet, and named Luis de Mendoça; he was killed in his own ship by stabs with a dagger by the chief constable of the fleet, who was sent to do this by Fernando de Magalhaes in a boat with certain men. The said three ships having thus been recovered, five days later Fernando de Magelhaes ordered Gaspar de Queixada to be decapitated and quartered; he was captain of one of the ships, and was one of those who had mutinied.

In this port they refitted the ship. Here the captain-major made Alvaro re Mesquita, a Portuguese, captain of one of the ships the captain of which had been killed. There sailed from this port on the 24th of August four ships, for the smallest of the ships had been already lost; he had sent it to reconnoitre, and the weather had been heavy, and had cast it ashore, where all the crew had been recovered along with the merchandise, artillery and fittings of the ship. They remained in this port, in which they wintered, five months and twenty-four days, and they were seventy degrees less ten minutes to the southward.

They sailed on the 24th day of the month of August of the said year from this port of St. Julian, and navigated a matter of twenty

leagues along the coast, and so they entered a river which was called Santa Cruz, which is in fifty degrees, where they took in goods and as much as they could obtain: the crew of the lost ship were already distributed among the other ships, for they had returned by land to where Fernando de Magalhaes was, and they continued collecting the goods which had remained there during August and up to the 18th September, and there they took in water and much fish which they caught in this river; and in the other, where they wintered, there were people like savages, and the men are from nine to ten spans in height, very well made; they have not got houses, they only go about from one place to another with their flocks, and eat meat nearly raw: they are all of them archers and kill many animals with arrows, and with the skins they make clothes, that is to say, they make the skins very supple, and fashion them after the shape of the body, as well as they can, then they cover themselves with them, and fasten them by a belt round the waist. When they do not wish to be clothed from the waist upwards, they let that half fall which is above the waist, and the garment remains hanging down from the belt which they have girt round them. They wear shoes which cover them four inches above the ankle, full of straw inside to keep their feet warm. They do not possess any iron, nor any other ingenuity of weapons, only they make the points of their arrows of flints, and so also the knives with which they cut, and the adze and awls with which they cut and stitch their shoes and clothes. They are very agile people, and do no harm, and thus they follow their flocks: wherever night finds them there they sleep; they carry their wives along with them with all the chattels which they possess. The women are very small and carry heavy burdens on their backs; they wear shoes and clothes just like the men. Of these men they obtained three or four and brought them in the ships, and they all died except one, who went to Castile in a ship which went thither.

They sailed from this river of Santa Cruz on the 18th of October: they continued navigating along the coast until the 21st day of the same month, October, when they discovered a cape, to which they gave the name of Cape of the Virgins, because they sighted it on the day of the eleven thousand virgins; it is in fifty-two degrees, a little more or less, and from this cape a matter of two or three leagues distance, we found ourselves at the mouth of a strait. We sailed along the said coast within that strait which they had reached the mouth of: they entered in it a little and anchored. Fernando de Magelhaes sent to discover

what there was further in, and they found three channels, that is to say, two more in a southerly direction, and one traversing the country in the direction of Maluco, but at that time this was not yet known, only the three mouths were seen. The boats went thither, and brought back word, and they set sail and anchored at these mouths of the channels, and Fernando de Magelhaes sent two ships to learn what there was within, and these ships went: one returned to the Captain-major, and the other, of which Alvaro de Mesquita was captain, entered into one of the bays which was to the south, and did not return any more. Fernan de Magelhaes seeing that it did not come back, set sail, and the next day he did not choose to make for the bays, and went to the south, and took another which runs north-west and south-east, and a quarter west and east. He left letters in the place from which he sailed, so that if the other ship returned, it might make the course which he left prescribed. After this they entered into the channel, which at some places has a width of three leagues, and two, and one, and in some places half a league, and he went through it as long as it was daylight, and anchored when it was night: and he sent the boats, and the ships went after the boats, and they brought news that there was an outlet, for they already saw the great sea on the other side; on which account Fernando de Magalhaes ordered much artillery to be fired for rejoicing; and before they went forth from this strait they found two islands, the first one larger, and the other nearer towards the outlet is the smaller one: and they went out between these islands and the coast on the southern side, as it was deeper than on the other side. This strait is a hundred leagues in length to the outlet; that outlet and the entrance are in fifty-two degrees latitude. They made a stay in this strait from the 21st October to the 26th of November, which makes thirty-six days of the said year of 1520, and as soon as they went out from the strait to sea, they made their course, for the most part, to west-north-west, when they found that their needles varied to the north-west almost two-fourths, and after they had navigated thus for many days, they found an island in a little more or less than eighteen degrees, or nineteen degrees: and also there was another, which was in from thirteen to fourteen degrees, and this in south altitude; they are uninhabited. They ran on until they reached the line, when Fernan de Magalhaes said that now they were in the neighbourhood of Maluco, as he had information that there were no provisions at Maluco, he said that he would go in a northerly direction as far as ten or twelve degrees, and they reached to as far as

thirteen degrees north, and in this latitude they navigated to the west, and a quarter south-west, a matter of a hundred leagues, where on the 6th of March, 1521, they fetched two islands inhabited by many people, and they anchored at one of them, which is in twelve degrees north; and the inhabitants are people of little truth, and they did not take precautions against them until they saw that they were taking away the skiff of the flagship, and they cut the rope with which it was made fast, and took it ashore without their being able to prevent it. They gave this island the name of Thieves' Island (*dos ladroes*).

Fernando de Magalhaes seeing that the skiff was lost, set sail, as it was already night, tacking about until the next day; as soon as it was morning they anchored at the place where they had seen the skiff carried off to, and he ordered two boats to be got ready with a matter of fifty or sixty men, and he went ashore in person, and burned the whole village, and they killed seven or eight persons, between men and women, and recovered the skiff, and returned to the ships; and while they were there they saw forty or fifty paros come, which came from the same land, and brought much refreshments.

Fernan de Magalhaes would not make any further stay, and at once set sail, and ordered the course to be steered west, and a quarter south-west; and so they made land, which is in barely eleven degrees. This land is an island, but he would not touch at this one, and they went to touch at another further on which appeared first. Fernando de Magalhaes sent a boat ashore to observe the nature of the island; when the boat reached land, they saw from the ships two *paraos* come out from behind the point; then they called back their boat. The people of the paraos seeing that the boat was returning to the ships, turned back the paraos, and the boat reached the ships, which at once set sail for another island very near to this island, which is in ten degrees, and they gave it the name of the island of Good Signs, because they found some gold in it. Whilst they were thus anchored at this island, there came to them two paraos, and brought them fowls and cocoa nuts, and told them that they had already seen there other men like them, from which they presumed that these might be *Lequios* or *Mægores;* a nation of people who have this name, or *Chiis;* and thence they set sail, and navigated further on amongst many islands, to which they gave the name of the *Valley Without Peril,* and also St. Lazarus, and they ran on to another island twenty leagues from that from which they sailed, which is in ten degeres, and came to anchor at another island, which is named Macangor, which is in nine degrees;

and in this island they were very well received, and they placed a cross in it. This king conducted them thence a matter of thirty leagues to another island named Cabo, which is in ten degrees, and in this island Fernando de Magalhaes did what he pleased with the consent of the country, and in one day eight hundred people became Christian, on which account Fernan de Magalhaes desired that the other kings, neighbours to this one, should become subject to this who had become Christian: and these did not choose to yield such obedience. Fernan de Magalhaes seeing that, got ready one night with his boats, and burned the villages of those who would not yield the said obedience; and a matter of ten or twelve days after this was done he sent to a village about half a league from that which he had burned, which is named Matam, and which is also an island, and ordered them to send him at once three goats, three pigs, three loads of rice, and three loads of millet for provisions for the ships; they replied that of each article which he sent to ask them three of, they would send to him by twos, and if he was satisfied with this they would at once comply, if not, it might be as he pleased, but that they would not give it. Because they did not choose to grant what he demanded of them, Fernan de Magalhaes ordered three boats to be equipped with a matter of fifty or sixty men, and went against the said place, which was on the 28th day of April, in the morning; there they found many people, who might well be as many as three thousand or four thousand men, who fought with such a good will that the said Fernan de Magalhaes was killed there, with six of his men, in the year 1521.

When Fernan de Magelhaes was dead the Christians got back to the ships, where they thought fit to make two captains and governors whom they should obey; and having done this, they took counsel [and decided] that the two captains should go ashore where the people had turned Christians to ask for pilots to take them to Borneo, and this was on the first day of May of the said year; when the two captains went, being agreed upon what had been said, the same people of the country who had become Christians, armed themselves against them, and whilst they reached the shore let them land in security as they had done before. Then they attacked them, and killed the two captains and twenty-six gentlemen, and the other people who remained got back to the boats, and returned to the ships, and finding themselves again without captains they agreed, inasmuch as the principal persons were killed, that one Joan Lopez, who was the chief treasurer, should be captain-major of the fleet, and the chief constable of the fleet should

be captain of one of the ships; he was named Gonzalo Vaz Despinosa.

Having done this they set sail, and ran about twenty-five leagues with three ships, which they still possessed; they then mustered, and found that they were altogether one hundred and eight men in all these three ships, and many of them were wounded and sick, on which account they did not venture to navigate the three ships, and thought it would be well to burn one of them—the one that should be most suitable for that purpose—and to take into the two ships those that remained: this they did out at sea, out of sight of any land. While they did this many paraos came to speak to them; and navigating amongst the islands, for in that neighbourhood there are a great many, they did not understand one another, for they had no interpreter, for he had been killed with Fernan de Magalhaes. Sailing further on amongst islets they came to anchor at an island which is named Carpyam, where there is gold enough, and this island is in fully eight degrees.

Whilst at anchor in this port of Capyam, they had speech with the inhabitants of the island, and made peace with them, and Carvalho, who was captain-major, gave them the boat of the ship which had been burnt: this island has three islets in the offing; here they took in some refreshments, and sailed further on to south-west, and fell in with another island, which is named Caram, and is in eleven degrees; from this they went on further to west south-west, and fell in with a large island, and ran along the coast of this island to the north-east, and reached as far as nine degrees and a half, where they went ashore one day, with the boats equipped to seek for provisions, for in the ships there was now not more than for eight days. On reaching shore the inhabitants would not suffer them to land, and shot at them with arrows of cane hardened in the fire, so that they returned to the ships.

Seeing this, they agreed to go to another island, where they had had some dealings, to see if they could get some provisions. Then they met with a contrary wind, and going about a league in the direction in which they wished to go, they anchored, and whilst at anchor they saw that people on shore were hailing them to go thither; they went there with the boats, and as they were speaking to those people by signs, for they did not understand each other otherwise, a man at arms, named Joam de Campos, told them to let him go on shore, since there were no provisions in the ships, and it might be that they would obtain some means of getting provisions; and that if the people killed him, they would not lose much with him, for God would take thought

of his soul; and also if he found provisions, and if they did not kill him, he would find means for bringing them to the ships: and they thought well of this. So he went on shore, and as soon as he reached it, the inhabitants received him, and took him into the interior the distance of a league, and when he was in the village all the people came to see him, and they gave him food, and entertained him well, especially when they saw that he ate pig's flesh; because in this island they had dealings with the Moors of Borneo, and because the country and people were greedy, they made them neither eat pigs nor bring them up in the country. This country is called Dyguasam, and is in nine degrees.

The said Christian seeing that he was favoured and well treated by the inhabitants, gave them to understand by his signs that they should carry provisions to the ships, which would be well paid for. In the country there was nothing except rice not pounded. Then the people set to pounding rice all the night, and when it was morning they took the rice and the said Christian, and came to the ships, where they did them great honour, and took in the rice and paid them, and they returned on shore. This man being already set on shore, inhabitants of another village, a little further on, came to the ships and told them to go to their village, and that they would give them much provisions for their money; and as soon as the said man whom they had sent arrived, they set sail and went to anchor at the village of those who had come to call them, which was named Vay Palay Cucara Canbam, where Carvalho made peace with the king of the country, and they settled the price of the rice, and they gave them two measures of rice which weighed one hundred and fourteen pounds for three fathoms of linen stuff of Britanny; they took there as much rice as they wanted, and goats and pigs, and whilst they were at this place there came a Moor, who had been in the village of Dyguaçam, which belongs to the Moors of Borneo, as has been said above, and after that he went to his country.

While they were at anchor near this village of Diguaçam, there came to them a parao in which there was a negro named Bastian, who asked for a flag and a passport for the governor of Diguaçam, and they gave him all this and other things as a present. They asked the said Bastiam, who spoke Portuguese sufficiently well, since he had been in Maluco, where he became a Christian, if he would go with them and shew them Borneo; he said he would very willingly, and when the

departure arrived he hid himself, and seeing that he did not come, they set sail from this port of Diguaçam on the 21st day of July to seek for Borneo. As they set sail there came to them a parao, which was coming to the port of Diguaçam, and they took it, and in it they took three Moors, who said they were pilots, and that they would take them to Borneo.

Having got these Moors, they steered along this island to the south-west, and fell in with two islands at its extremity, and passed between them; that on the north side is named Bolyna, and that on the south Bamdym. Sailing to the west south-west a matter of fourteen leagues, they fell in with a white bottom, which was a shoal below the water, and the black men they carried with them told them to draw near to the coast of the island, as it was deeper there, and that was more in the direction of Borneo, for from that neighbourhood the island of Borneo could already be sighted. This same day they reached and anchored at some islands, to which they gave the name of islets of St. Paul, which was a matter of two and a half or three leagues from the great island of Borneo, and they were in about seven degrees at the south side of these islands. In the island of Borneo there is an exceedingly great mountain, to which they gave the name of Mount St. Paul; and from thence they navigated along the coast of Borneo itself; and they went forward on the same course and reached the neighbourhood of Borneo, and the Moors whom they had with them told them that there was Borneo, and the wind did not suffer them to arrive thither, as it was contrary. They anchored at an island which is there, and which may be eight leagues from Borneo.

Close to this island is another which has many myrobolans, and the next day they set sail for the other island, which is nearer to the port of Borneo; and going along thus they saw so many shoals that they anchored, and sent the boats ashore in Borneo, and they took the aforesaid Moorish pilots on shore, and there went a Christian with them; and the boats went to set them on land, from whence they had to go to the city of Borneo, which was three leagues off, and there they were taken before the Shahbendr of Borneo, and he asked what people they were, and for what they came in the ships; and they were presented to the King of Borneo with the Christian. As soon as the boats had set the said men on shore, they sounded in order to see if the ships could come in closer: and during this they saw three junks which were coming from the port of Borneo from the said city out to sea, and as soon as they saw the ships they returned inshore: continu-

ing to sound, they found the channel by which the port is entered; they then set sail, and entered this channel, and being within the channel they anchored, and would not go further in until they received a message from the shore, which arrived next day with two paraos: these carried certain swivel guns of metal, and a hundred men in each parao, and they brought goats and fowls, and two cows, and figs, and other fruit, and told them to enter further in opposite the islands which were near there, which was the true berth; and from this position to the city there might be three or four leagues. Whilst thus at anchor they established peace, and settled that they should trade in what there was in the country, especially wax, to which they answered that they would willingly sell all that there was in the country for their money. This port of Borneo is in eight degrees.

For the answer thus received from the King they sent him a present by Gonzalo Mendes Despinosa, captain of the ship Victoria, and the King accepted the present, and gave to all of them China stuffs: and when there had passed twenty or twenty-three days that they were there trading with the people of the island, and had got five men on shore in the city itself, there came to anchor at the bar, close to them, five junks, at the hour of vespers, and they remained there that evening and the night until next day in the morning, when they saw coming from the city two hundred paraos, some under sail, others rowing. Seeing in this manner the five junks and the paraos, it seemed to them that there might be treachery, and they set sail for the junks, and as soon as the crews of the junks saw them under sail, they also set sail and made off where the wind best served them; and they overhauled one of the junks with the boats, and took it with twenty-seven men; and the ships went and anchored abreast of the island of the Myrololans, with the junk made fast to the poop of the flagship, and the paraos returned to shore, and when night came there came on a squall from the west in which the said junk went to the bottom alongside the flagship, without being able to receive any assistance from it.

Next day in the morning they saw a sail, and went to it and took it; this was a great junk in which the son of the King of Lucam came as captain, and had with him ninety men, and as soon as they took them they sent some of them to the King of Borneo; and they sent him word by these men to send the Christians whom they had got there, who were seven men, and they would give him all the people whom they had taken in the junk; on which account the King sent two men of the seven whom he had got there in a parao, and they

again sent him word to send the five men who still remained, and they would send all the people whom they had got from the junk. They waited two days for the answer, and there came no message; then they took thirty men from the junk, and put them into a parao belonging to the junk, and sent them to the King of Borneo, and set sail with fourteen men of those they had taken and three women; and they steered along the coast of the said island to the north-east, returning backwards; and they again passed between the islands and the great island of Borneo, where the flagship grounded on a point of the island, and so remained more than four hours, and the tide turned and it got off, by which it was seen clearly that the tide was of twenty-four hours.

Whilst making the aforesaid course the wind shifted to north-east, and they stood out to sea, and they saw a sail coming, and the ships anchored, and the boats went to it and took it; it was a small junk and carried nothing but cocoa-nuts; and they took in water and wood, and set sail along the coast of the island to the north-east, until they reached the extremity of the said island, and met wih another small island, where they overhauled the ships. They arrived at this island on the day of our Lady of August, and in it they found a very good point for beaching the ships, and they gave it the name of Port St. Mary of August, and it is in fully seven degrees.

As soon as they had taken these precautions they set sail and steered to the south-west until they sighted the island which is named Fagajam, and this is a course of thirty-eight to forty leagues: and as soon as they sighted this island they steered to the south-west, and again made an island which is called Seloque, and they had information that there were many pearls there: and when they had already sighted that island the wind shifted to a head-wind, and they could not fetch it by the course they were sailing, and it seemed to them that it might be in six degrees. This same night they arrived at the island of Quipe, and ran along it to the south-east, and passed between it and another island called Tamgym, and always running along the coast of the island, going thus, they fell in with a parao laden with bread in loaves, which is bread made of a tree which is named cajare, which the people of that country eat as bread. This parao carried twenty-one men, and the chief of them had been in Maluco in the house of Francisco Serram, and having gone further along this island they arrived in sight of some islands which are named Semrryn; they are in five degrees, a little more or less. The inhabitants of this land came

to see the ships, and so they had speech of one another, and an old man of these people told them that he would conduct them to Maluco.

In this manner, having fixed a time with the old man, an agreement was made with him, and they gave him a certain price for this; and when the next day came, and they were to depart, the old man intended to escape, and they understood it, and took him and others who were with him, and who also said that they knew pilot's work, and they set sail; and as soon as the inhabitants saw them go they fitted out to go after them: and of these paraos there did not reach the ships more than two, and these reached so near that they shot arrows into the ships, and the wind was fresh and they could not come up with them. At midnight of that day they sighted some islands, and they steered more towards them; and next day they saw land, which was an island; and at night following that day they found themselves very close to it, and when night fell the wind calmed and the currents drew them very much inshore; there the old pilot cast himself into the sea, and betook himself to land.

Sailing thus forward, after one of the pilots had fled, they sighted another island and arrived close to it, and another Moorish pilot said that Maluco was still further on, and navigating thus, the next day in the morning they sighted three high mountains, which belonged to a nation of people whom they called the Salabos; and then they saw a small island where they anchored to take in some water, and because they feared that in Maluco they would not be allowed to take it in; and they omitted doing so, because the Moorish pilot told them that there were some four hundred men in that island, and that they were all very bad, and might do them some injury, as they were men of little faith; and that he would give them no such advice as to go to that island; and also because Maluco, which they were seeking, was now near, and that its kings were good men, who gave a good reception to all sorts of men in their country; and while still in this neighbourhood they saw the islands themselves of Maluco, and for rejoicing they fired all the artillery, and they arrived at the island on the 8th of November of 1521, so that they spent from Seville to Maluco two years, two months and twenty-eight days, for they sailed on the 10th of August of 1519.

As soon as they arrived at the island of Tydor, which is in half a degree, the King thereof did them great honour, which could not be exceeded: there they treated with the King for their cargo, and the King engaged to give them a cargo and whatever there was in the

country for their money, and they settled to give for the bahar of cloves fourteen ells of yellow cloth of twenty-seven tem, which are worth in Castile a ducat the ell; of red cloth of the same kind ten ells; they also gave thirty ells of Brittany linen cloth, and for each of these quantities they received a bahar of cloves, likewise for thirty knives eight bahars: having thus settled all the above mentioned prices, the inhabitants of the country gave them information that further on, in another island near, there was a Portuguese man. This island might be two leagues distant, and it was named Targatell; this man was the chief person of Maluco; *there we now have got a fortress.* They then wrote letters to the said Portuguese, to come and speak with them, to which he answered that he did not dare, because the King of the country forbade it; that if they obtained permission from the King he would come at once; this permission they soon got, and the Portuguese came to speak with him. They gave him an account of the prices which they had settled, at which he was amazed, and said that on that account the King had ordered him not to come, as they did not know the truth about the prices of the country; and whilst they were thus taking in cargo there arrived the King of Baraham, which is near there, and said that he wished to be a vassal of the King of Castile, and also that he had got four hundred bahars of cloves, and that he had sold it to the King of Portugal, and that they had bought it, but that he had not yet delivered it, and if they wished for it, he would give it all to them; to which the captains answered that if he brought it to them, and came with it, they would buy it, but otherwise not. The King, seeing that they did not wish to take the cloves, asked them for a flag and a letter of safe conduct, which they gave him, signed by the captains of the ships.

While they were thus waiting for the cargo, it seemed to them, from the delay in the delivery, that the King was preparing some treachery against them, and the greater part of the ships' crews made an uproar and told the captains to go, as the delays which the King made were nothing else than treachery: as it seemed to them all that it might be so, they were abandoning everything, and were intending to depart; and being about to unfurl the sails, the King, who had made the agreement with them, came to the flagship and asked the captain why he wanted to go, because that which he had agreed upon with him he intended to fulfill it as had been settled. The captain replied that the ships' crews said they should go and not remain any longer, as it was only treachery that was being prepared against them. To

this the King answered that it was not so, and on that account he at once sent for his Koran, upon which he wished to make oath that nothing such should be done to them. They at once brought him this Koran, and upon it he made oath, and told them to rest at ease with that. At this the crews were set at rest, and promised them that he would give them their cargo by the 15th December 1521, which he fulfilled within the said time without being wanting in anything.

When the two ships were already laden and about to unfurl their sails, the flagship sprung a large leak, and the King of the country learning this, he sent them twenty-five divers to stop the leak, which they were unable to do. They settled that the other ship should depart, and that this one should again discharge all its cargo, and unload it; and as they could not stop the leak, that they [the people of the country] should give them all that they might be in need of. This was done, and they discharged the cargo of the flagship; and when the said ship was repaired, they took in her cargo, and decided on making for the country of the Antilles, and the course from Maluco to it was 2,000 leagues a little more or less. The other ship, which set sail first, left on the 21st of December of the said year, and went out to sea for Timor, and made its course behind Java, 2,055 leagues to the Cape of Good Hope.

They refitted the ship, and took in the cargo in four months and sixteen days: they sailed on the 6th of April of the year 1522, and took their course for the mainland of the Antilles by the strait through which they had come; and at first they navigated to the North, until they came out from the islands of Ternate and Tymor; afterwards they navigated along the island of Betachina, ten or eleven leagues to the North-east; after that they steered about twenty leagues to the North-east, and so arrived at an island, which is named Doyz, and is in three and a half degrees South latitude at its south-eastren side: from this place they navigated three or four leagues eastwards, and sighted two islands, one large and the other small; the large one was named Porquenampello, and passed between it and Batechina, which lay on their starboard side. They reached a cape, to which they gave the name Cape of Palms, because they sighted it on the vigil of Palms. This cape is in two and a half degrees: thence they steered to the South to make Quimar, which is land belonging to the King of Tydor, and the said King had ordered that they should receive whatever there was in the country for their money, and there they took pigs and goats, and fowls and cocoanuts and *hava:* they remained in this port

eight or nine days. This port of Camarfya is in one and a quarter degree.

They sailed from this port on the 20th of April, and steered for about seventeen leagues, and came out of the channel of the island of Batechina and the island Charam; and as soon as they were outside, they saw that the said island of Charam ran to the South-east a good eighteen or twenty leagues, and it was not their course, for their direction was to the East and a quarter North-east; and they navigated in the said course some days, and always found the winds very contrary for their course. On the 3rd of May they made two small islands, which might be in five degrees more or less, to which they gave the name of islands of St. Antony. Thence they navigated further on to the North-east, and arrived at an island which is named Cyco, which is in fully nineteen degrees, and they made this island on the 11th of July. From this island they took a man, whom they carried away with them, and they navigated further on, tacking about with contrary winds, until they reached forty-two degrees North latitude.

When they were in this neighbourhood, they were short of bread, wine, meat, and oil; they had nothing to eat only water and rice, without other provisions; and the cold was great, and they had not sufficient covering, the crews began to die, and seeing themeslves in this state, they decided on putting back in the direction of Maluco, which they at once carried into effect. When at a distance of five hundred leagues from it, they desired to make the island which is named Quamgragam, and as they sighted it at night, they did not choose to make it; they waited thus till it dawned next day, and they were unable to fetch the said island; and the man whom they carried with them, and whom before they had taken from that island, told them to go further on, and they would make three islands, where there was a good port, and this which the black man said, was in order to run away at them, as indeed he did run away. On arriving at these three islands, they fetched them with some danger, and anchored in the middle of them in fifteen fathoms. Of these islands, the largest was inhabited by twenty persons between men and women: this island is named Pamo; it is in twenty degrees more or less: here they took in rain-water, as there was no other in the country. In this island the black man ran away. Thence they sailed to make the land of Camafo, and as soon as they sighted it they had calms, and the currents carried them away from the land; and afterwards they had a little wind, and they made for the land, but could not fetch it; they then went

to anchor between the islands of Domi and Batechina, and while at anchor, a parao passed by them with some men who belonged to the King of an island named Geilolo, and they gave them news that the Portuguese were in Maluco making a fortress. Learning this, they at once sent the clerk of the ship with certain men to the captain-major of those Portuguese, who was named Antonio de Bryto, to ask him to come and bring the ship to the place where they were; because the crew of the ship had mostly died, and the rest were sick, and could not navigate the ship. As soon as Antonio de Bryto saw the letter and message, he sent down Dom Gonzalo Amriquiz, captain of the to the fortress, and whilst they were discharging its cargo, there came a squall from the north, which cast it on shore. Where this ship turned to put back to Maluco was a little more or less than 1050 or 1100 leagues from the island.

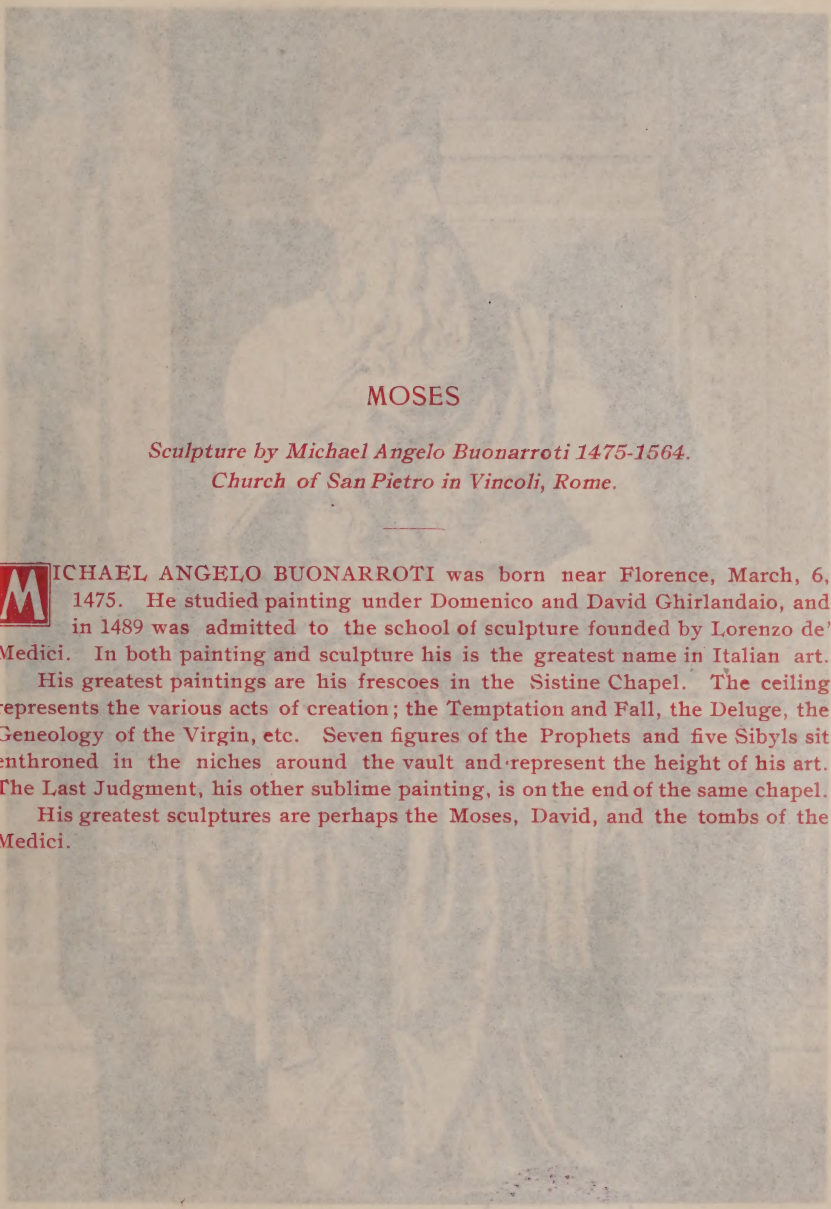
This was transcribed from the paper-book of a Genoese pilot, who came in the said ship, who wrote all the voyage as it is here. He went to Portugal in the year 1524 with Dom Amriqui de Menezes. Thanks be to God.

POLITICAL IDEAS OF MACHIAVELLI

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI lets us see into the depths of the mediaeval ideas of government. His problem is what means, let their character be what it may, will most surely attain a desired end, and he attacks this problem with as little regard for its moral aspects as a mathematician would feel in solving a theorem in geometry.

He was born at Florence May 3, 1469 of ancient lineage. In youth he was much interested in the histories of Rome which the Renaissance had brought to light. Machiavelli was a clerk in Florence from 1494 to 1498, then second chancellor for the next fourteen years. During this period he tried to organize a native militia to take the place of mercenary troops, but when the Spanish drove the French from Italy, the cardinal Giovanni de Medici brought a Spanish army before the city and Florence hastened to open her gates. Machiavelli tried to make terms with the cardinal but was banished, then imprisoned, and released only when Giovanni was made pope in 1513. He retired to his farm and there spent most of his time until his death in 1527 with his writings.

Machiavelli looked forward to the union of Italy and his Prince is a discussion of political methods, an application of which he believed would accomplish this result. His ideas are important not only from the point of view of political science, but because they typify the methods and thought of the time.



MOSES

Sculpture by Michael Angelo Buonarroti 1475-1564.
Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI was born near Florence, March, 6, 1475. He studied painting under Domenico and David Ghirlandaio, and in 1489 was admitted to the school of sculpture founded by Lorenzo de' Medici. In both painting and sculpture his is the greatest name in Italian art.

His greatest paintings are his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. The ceiling represents the various acts of creation; the Temptation and Fall, the Deluge, the Geneology of the Virgin, etc. Seven figures of the Prophets and five Sibyls sit enthroned in the niches around the vault and represent the height of his art. The Last Judgment, his other sublime painting, is on the end of the same chapel.

His greatest sculptures are perhaps the Moses, David, and the tombs of the Medici.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF A PRINCE

How Cities and Principalities Should Be Governed Which, Before They Were Subdued, Lived Under Their Own Laws

When states which are newly conquered have been accustomed to liberty, and to live under their own laws, there are three ways of maintaining them.

The first is to ruin them.

The second to inhabit them.

The third to leave them in the enjoyment of their laws, rendering them tributary, and establishing there a small council to form a government which may keep the country in peace; for this new government being created by the prince, and dependent therfore on his favour and power, will be interested in exerting itself to support him. Besides, a state accustomed to enjoy its liberty can be more easily held by establishing there a government of its citizens, than by any other means.

The Lacedemonians and the Romans furnish us with examples of these different ways of retaining a state.

The first governed Athens and Thebes by founding there a government composed of a few persons; nevertheless they afterward lost them.

The Romans, to make sure of Capua, Carthage, and Numantia, destroyed them and did not lose them.

They were, on the contrary, desirous to hold Greece in the same manner the Spartans had done, by restoring its liberty and its laws; this mode did not, however, succeed; and they were compelled at last to destroy several cities in Greece, in order to retain the country; and doubtless that was the safest way, for otherwise whoever becomes master of a free state, and does not destroy it, may expect to be ruined by it himself. In all its revolts it has ever the cry of liberty for its rallying point and its refuge, as well as the remembrance of its ancient institutions, which neither length of time nor benefits can efface; do what we may, take whatever precautions we can, unless we divide and disperse the inhabitants, this name of liberty will never depart from their

memory or their hearts, any more than the remembrance of their ancient institutions, and they will immediately recur to it on the slightest occasion. We see what was done at Pisa after it had continued so many years in subjection to the Florentines.

But the case is different when cities or provinces have been accustomed to live under a prince, and the race of that prince is extinct; for as they are accustomed to obey, and are deprived of their former prince, they will neither agree in the election of a new one, and are ignorant how to govern like free states, whence they are little disposed to rebel, and thus a conqueror may, without much difficulty, gain their affections and attach them to himself.

In republics, on the contrary, the resentment of citizens is stronger and more active, the desire of vengeance more animated, and the remembrance of their ancient liberty will not permit them to enjoy a single instant of repose; so that the surest means is either to live among them, or to destroy them.

Of New States, Which a Prince Acquires by his Own Valour and his Own Arms

It ought not to appear strange if, in what I am about to advance respecting new principalities, princes, and states, I confine myself to examples furnished by the greatest personages; for men generally follow the beaten paths which others have formed, and their conduct is merely imitation. Now as we cannot keep exactly the same path, nor attain the elevation of those whom we take for models, a wise man ought only to follow the paths traced by superior genius, and imitate those only who have excelled, in order that, if he cannot equal, he may at least in some respects resemble them; like the skilful archer, who, being at too great a distance from the object of his aim, and knowing accurately the power of his bow, elevates his arrow higher than the mark, only with the intent of reaching it.

I must in the first place observe, that in a principality, entirely new, the degree of difficulty experienced by a prince in maintaining himself there, depends on his own personal qualities. That a private individual should become a prince argues a great share of fortune or talent, and the greater part of the difficulties should be surmounted by either of these qualities. Nevertheless, he who relies least on fortune has the strongest hold of his acquisitions, which is easier to those who, having no dominions of their own, are obliged to reside personally on their conquests.

Of those who have become princes solely by their own courage and talents, the most eminent are Moses, Cyrus, Romulus, Theseus, and some others. It might seem, doubtless, that Moses ought not to be placed in this class, as he only executed the orders of Heaven; yet he merits our admiration, if it were only for having been chosen by God to communicate His will to man.

But if we examine the actions of Cyrus, and other such conquerors and founders of monarchies; they are entitled to the highest praise. We shall find that in their conduct and particular institutions they closely resembled Moses, although he was under heavenly guidance. Their lives and actions, however, prove that they had no other fortune than opportunity, which furnished them with the means of introducing that form of government which they conceived most appropriate. Without opportunity, their talents and their courage had been lost; and without their personal qualities, opportunity had been in vain.

It was consequently necessary that Moses should find the Israelites in a state of slavery and oppression amongst the Egyptians, that they should be disposed to follow him and shake off their bondage. It was fortunate that Romulus was not brought up in Alba, but was exposed at his birth, otherwise he had never become king of Rome and founder of that empire. It happened luckily for Cyrus that he found the Persians discontented with the empire of the Medes, and the Medes grown effeminate by a long peace. Theseus could not have shown his courage if he had not found the Athenians dispersed. These opportunities furnished those men with the means of success, and their talents profited by an occasion which rendered their several countries for ever illustrious, and at the same time founded their prosperity on a stable basis.

It is difficult for others to raise themselves to dominion in the same heroic manner, but when they succeed they preserve it without trouble. The difficulties they experience arise, in part, from the changes they are obliged to introduce to establish their government upon a firm foundation. Now nothing is more difficult and dangerous to execute, and the success of which is more doubtful, than the introduction of new laws. He who introduces them, renders all those his enemies who lived to their satisfaction under the former code, and is sure to find but feeble defenders in those who are to be benefited by the new system; and this supineness arises, in part, from the fear of their adversaries, to whom the ancient order of things is beneficial, and partly from the incredulity of mankind, who have no confidence in new measures except when founded on long experience; whence it follows, that when the

enemies to the new order of things find an opportunity of attack, they use it with zeal and enthusiasm, while the others defend it with indifference; so that the prince encounters as much danger from his defenders as he does from his enemies.

To discuss this subject fully, we must attentively examine whether these innovators propose such changes of their own accord, or whether they depend on others; that is to say, whether they are under the necessity of employing persuasion, or compelled to resort to force. In the first case they never succeed; but when they are independent, and have the power to compel, they seldom fail: whence it happened that all the prophets who were supported by an armed force, succeeded, while those who had no such power to trust to were defeated. Besides the reasons we have already adduced, it is the nature of mankind to be fickle and inconstant in their opinions. And measures should be so taken with respect to them, that when they cease to believe of their own accord, they be constrained to it by force. Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus, could never have secured an observance of the constitutions they severally formed, otherwise than by force of arms. This has been proved in our days by brother Jerome Savonarola, whose designs were at once frustrated when the multitude ceased to have faith in him: for he was destitute of the means either to compel belief, or to inspire confidence. Such persons experience, it is true, great obstacles and dangers at every step, which can only be surmounted by talent and courage. But when these difficulties are once overcome, and they have extinguished those who envied their greatness, they will be held in veneration, and live in security, tranquillity, and happiness.

To these great and remarkable examples, I will add another less conspicuous, perhaps, but bearing some resemblance to the rest, and which will suffice for all others of a like nature. I allude to Hiero of Syracuse, who from a private individual, became prince of Syracuse, and was beholden to no other fortune than opportunity. In fact, the people of Syracuse being oppressed, chose him for their leader, and he well deserved to be their prince. His private conduct was such, that all authors that speak of him allow that he wanted nothing but a kingdom to make him a monarch. He disbanded the old army, and organized new troops; he abandoned old alliances and formed new ones; and as his friends and the army were entirely devoted to him, it was easy for him to build securely on such foundations, so that though he had much difficulty in obtaining his dignity, it required but little to preserve it.

Of Those Who Have Attained Sovereignty by Their Crimes

As sovereignty may be attained in two ways, without being indebted either to fortune or to virtue, it is proper that I should here detail them both; though the examination of one of them might perhaps be more appropriately placed under the article republics. The first is pursued by usurpers, who attain power by nefarious means, and the second by such private individuals who are raised by their fellow citizens to the dignity of princes of their native country.

I shall cite two examples of the former, one of ancient and the other of modern date; and, without entering farther into the merits of the case, they will suffice for those who are under the necessity of following them. Agathocles, a Sicilian, an individual of the lowest class, raised himself to the throne of Syracuse. He was the son of a potter, of dissolute and wicked conduct in every relation of life; but he conducted himself with infinite ability, and so much courage as well as strength of mind and body, that, having devoted all his attention to arms, he rose through the several gradations of the profession, till at length he became prætor of Syracuse. Having arrived at this rank, he resolved to maintain it, to make himself sovereign, and retain by violence, and independently of every other person, what had been granted to him by the public voice. Having well weighed his purpose, he held a communication with Hamilcar, who then commanded the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Agathocles one morning assembled the people and the senate of Syracuse, under the pretext of deliberating on public affairs. At a given signal he caused all the senators, and the richest of the inhabitants, to be massacred by the soldiery; after whose death he assumed the sovereignty, and enjoyed it without obstruction or molestation. Twice defeated by the Carthaginians, and at length besieged by them in Syracuse, he not only defended himself in the city, but, leaving a part of the troops to sustain the siege, he, with the remainder, passed over into Africa, where he pressed the Carthaginians so closely that they soon raised the siege, and, reduced to extremities, were compelled to content themselves with Africa, and abandon Sicily to him.

In examining the conduct of Agathocles, we shall find scarcely anything that can be attributed to fortune. It was not by favour, but by his own genius, that he attained the sovereignty amidst a thousand obstacles and a thousand dangers; and afterwards maintained what he

had acquired by dint of courage and resolution. Still it must not be called virtue to murder one's fellow citizens, or to sacrifice one's friends, or be insensible to the voice of faith, pity, or religion. These qualities may lead to sovereignty but not to glory.

Considering the intrepidity of Agathocles, both in encountering and escaping dangers, as well as his invincible firmness in adversity, he cannot be deemed inferior to the greatest warriors; nevertheless, his inhumanity, his ferocious cruelty, and his innumerable crimes, prevent him from being included in the rank of celebrated men; we must not, therefore, attribute to fortune or to virtue what he accomplished without the assistance of either of them.

The other instance happened in our own times, under the pontificate of Alexander VI. Oliverotto da Fermo, having in his infancy lost both his parents, was educated by his maternal uncle, John Fogliani, and while yet very young was placed under Paul Vitelli to learn the art of war, and qualify himself for some distinguished rank. After the death of Paul he served under his brother Vitelozzo, and in a very short time, by his own courage and ability, he became the first warrior of his day; but deeming it beneath him to remain any longer dependent, he resolved, with the aid of a few citizens of Fermo, who preferred slavery to the liberty of their country, and, with the assistance of Vitellozzo, to seize upon his native city. He wrote to his uncle Fogliani, that having been absent for many years, he was desirous of returning to see his country, and take possession of his patrimony. That, as he had laboured so hard to acquire a reputation, he wished to afford his fellow citizens some proof that his time had not been misspent, and consequently he intended to present himself before them in a distinguished manner, accompanied by a hundred horse, consisting of his friends and followers; and he prayed that the inhabitants of Fermo might receive him with marks of respect, as a testimony grateful to himself and honourable to his uncle, who had superintended his education.

John Fogliani did not fail to fulfill his nephew's intentions; he was received with marks of distinction by the inhabitants of Fermo, and lodged in his uncle's house, where Oliverotto employed several days in making the necessary preparations for the execution of his guilty designs. He then gave a grand entertainment, to which he invited John Fogliani and the principal persons of the city. The repast being ended, Oliverotto artfully turned the conversation upon the power of Pope Alexander and of his son Cæsar Borgia, and their several enterprises. Giovanni and the others gave their opinion in turn, when

Oliverotto suddenly rose, saying, that it would be more proper to discuss such subjects privately. He accordingly retired into a chamber, into which he was followed by his uncle and the others. Scarcely were they seated, when the armed soldiers, who had been till then concealed, rushed out and massacred Giovanni and the whole party. After which Oliverotto mounted his horse, traversed the city, besieged the palace of the chief magistrate, forced him to swear obedience, and to establish a government of which he (Oliverotto) was to be the prince. He put to death all the discontented who had the power to injure him; he established new laws, both civil and military; and in the space of one year he had so effectually consolidated his power, that he was not only firmly established in the sovereignty of Fermo, but had rendered himself formidable to all his neighbours. His expulsion would have been as difficult as that of Agathocles, if he had not suffered himself to be deceived by Borgia, who, as we have already shown, entrapped him at Signigalia with the Orsini and Vitelli, a year after the parricide of his uncle; he was there strangled, with Vitellozzo, his master in the art of war and wickedness.

It may seem strange that Agathocles, and others of the same stamp, should be able not only to support their power so long at home, but to defend themselves against the attacks of foreign enemies, without being in danger of conspiracies from their fellow citizens, notwithstanding their many acts of perfidy and violence, whilst the cruelties of others have rendered them unable to secure themselves in their usurpations, even in times of peace, to say nothing of war. This seems to me to have happened accordingly, as their cruelty was well or ill applied. I say well applied (if we may, indeed, speak well of what is evil), when it is only once exercised, and that, too, when it is dictated by the absolute necessity of self-preservation, and even then converted as much as possible to the benefit of the public. But it is ill applied when, though practised with caution and reserve in the commencement, it increases instead of diminishes with time. The proceedings of the former have sometimes been suffered to prosper both by God and man, of which Agathocles is an example. But in the latter case self-support becomes impossible.

Whence I conclude that the usurper of a state should commit all the cruelties which his safety renders necessary at once, that he may never have cause to repeat them: by not renewing them, he will acquire the loyalty of his new subjects, and by favours he will rivet their

attachment. If from bad counsel or timidity he takes another course, he must ever have a poinard in his hand, and he can never rely on his subjects, whose confidence he has destroyed by new and repeated attacks. Matters of severity, therefore, should be finished at one blow, for when time is allowed for resentment, the wound is not so deep; but benefits should be frugally dispensed, and by little at a time, that they may be the better relished. Above all things, a prince should live with his subjects on such terms, that no change of fortune may oblige him to alter his conduct towards them. For in times of difficulty, severity is unseasonable, and kindness unprofitable; it would be looked upon as extorted by necessity, and undeserving of thanks.

Of the Different Kinds of Military Establishments, and of Mercenary Troops

Having examined in detail the different kinds of political states which I proposed to investigate, and inquired into the causes of their decline as well as their prosperity, and also the means by which many of them have been acquired or preserved, it remains for me now to advert to the differnt kinds of military forces, whether for the purposes of attack or defence.

I have already said, that princes, who wish their power to be durable, should fix it on a solid foundation. Now the principal foundations of all states, whether ancient, modern, or mixed are good laws and a proper military force to support them; but as good laws can never be of any effect without good troops, and as these two elements of political power cannot be separated, it will be sufficient that I confine my view, for the present, to one of them.

Troops which serve for the defence of a state are either national, foreign, or mixed. Those of the second class, whether they serve as auxiliaries, or as mercenaries, are useless and dangerous; and the prince who relies on such soldiers will never be secure, because they are always ambitious, disunited, unfaithful, and undisciplined. Brave amongst friends, but cowardly in the face of an enemy, they neither fear God nor keep faith with man; so that the prince who employs them can only retard his fall by delaying to put their valour to the proof, and, in short, they plunder the state in time of peace as much as the enemy does in time of war. How, indeed, should it be otherwise? A military force of this descripton can never serve a state but for the sake of pay, which is never so high as to induce them to purchase it by the sacrifice of their lives; they are willing enough to serve in the time of peace, but

the moment war is declared it is impossible to keep them to their colours.

This is a matter easily proved, for Italy would not now be ruined, had she not trusted so many years to mercenary troops, who at first rendered some service to the state, but who showed the extent of their bravery on the appearance of an enemy. Thus Charles VIII., king of France, conquered Italy, as it were, by a piece of chalk, and those who attribute our misfortunes to our own errors, seem to do so with reason. Doubtless our own errors produced these misfortunes, and as they were committed chiefly by princes, they have themselves paid the severest penalty.

To place the matter in a clearer point of view, I may observe that the commanders of these troops are either men of conduct or abilities, or they are not. If they are, they cannot be trusted; because their own elevation can only be obtained by oppressing the prince who employs them, or others against his will; if they are not, they must hasten the ruin of the state they serve so ill.

I may perhaps be told that every other commander will act in the same manner. To this I answer, that every war is carried on either by a prince or a republic. A prince ought to put himself at the head of his armies. A republic ought to confer the command on one of her own citizens, who may be superseded, if he prove unequal to the task, or continued in his post, if he behave well, but under such restrictions that he cannot exceed his orders.

Experience has shown that either princes or republics can effect great achievements of themselves, and that mercenary soldiers must inevitably injure both; and as to republics, I may observe, that they are more secure against the oppression of him who commands their armies, when they employ national troops instead of foreign mercenaries. Rome and Sparta by these means maintained their liberties for several ages, and the Swiss would not at this moment be so free but from the consciousness of being well armed.

The Carthaginians and Thebans are striking examples of the truth of what I have advanced as to the danger of employing foreign troops. The first, though their generals were chosen from their own citizens, had nearly fallen a prey to the tyranny of foreign mercenaries, at the conclusion of their first war against the Romans: and, as to the Thebans, it is well known that Philip of Macedon, having on the death of Epaminondas obtained the command of their troops, had no sooner conquered their enemies than he deprived them of their liberties.

Sforza, who had been employed by Jane II., queen of Naples, as commander-in-chief of her forces, suddenly deserted her service, and left her completely disarmed, and her distress obliged her to seek the aid of the king of Arragon in order to save her kingdom. And Francis Sforza, son of the former, after having defeated the Venetians at Caravaggio, united with them for the purpose of oppressing the Milanese, who had on the death of their duke Philip placed him in command of their troops.

If it be objected, that the Florentines and Venetians have never failed to increase their states by the assistance of foreign soldiers, and that their generals have always served them well, without any one of them having raised himself to the sovereignty: to this I answer, that the Florentines have been extremely fortunate; for some of their best generals, whose ambition they might have had reason to dread, either were not victorious, or else they met many obstacles in their way, whilst others turned their ambition upon other objects. Amongst these was John Acuto, whose fidelity was, for this reason, never put to the proof. But every one must allow, that if he had conquered, the Florentines would have been at his mercy.

If Braccio and Sforza made no attempt against the state they served, their moderation arose from their being rivals, and, on this account, they always acted as a check upon each other. It is well known that the son of the latter turned his ambition against Lombardy, and Braccio against the ecclesiastical state and the kingdom of Naples. But let us advert to occurrences of our own day.

The Florentines conferred the command of their troops on Paul Vitelli, a very prudent man, and who, from a private station, had been raised to this post, in consequence of the great reputation he had acquired. If he had succeeded in reducing Pisa, the liberties of the Florentines, or their political existence, would have been brought to a close; had he gone over to the enemy, he would have completed their destruction.

As to the Venetians, they have never been indebted for their success to any but their own arms, at least, in a maritime warfare; for the decline of their power may be dated from the time when they became ambitious of conquests by land, and of adopting the manners and customs of the other states of Italy.

They had however but little to fear from the ambition of their generals whilst their possessions by land were inconsiderable, because they were still sustained by the splendour of their ancient power; but

they perceived their error in extending them, when, by the superior conduct of Carmignola, they had defeated the duke of Milan; for perceiving that though he was an able commander, he yet endeavoured to prolong the war, they judged with reason that they could never expect to conquer in opposition to the will of this general; and, therefore, not being able to dismiss him from his command without losing what they had gained by his valour, they determined upon having him assassinated.

The Venetians subsequently had for their generals Bartolomeo da Bergama, Roberto de St. Severino, and the count of Pitigliano, from whose conduct they had reason to expect rather loss than advantage; as, indeed, was the case afterwards, in the affair of Vaila, when they lost in one day the fruit of eight hundred years of labor and difficulty. The successes which they obtained by their military forces were slow and feeble, but their defeats were sudden and almost miraculous.

Since these examples have led me to speak of Italy, and the melancholy experience she has acquired of the danger resulting from employing foreign troops, I shall trace the subject to its source, in order that the knowledge of the origin and progress of this kind of soldiery may prevent the most disastrous effects, of which they are frequently the cause. We should, in the first place, recollect, that when the empire had lost the power and consideration it had ever enjoyed in Italy, and when the authority of the pope had become permanent, that country was divided into several states.

The greater part of the large cities took up arms against the nobles, who, supported by the emperor, made them groan under the most cruel oppression. The pope seconded their enterprises, and thereby increased his temporal power. Many others fell under the domination of their citizens; so that Italy became subjected to the church and to a few republics. The ecclesiastical princes, strangers to the art of war, commenced employing mercenary soldiers. Alberigo da Como, born in Romagna, was the first who brought this kind of military force into high credit. It was in his school that Sforza and Braccio, who were then the arbiters of Italy, were educated. To them succeeded many others, who have, till the present moment, commanded armies in this country.

To their brilliant exploits! it is owing, that Italy was invaded by Charles VIII., ravaged and plundered by Lewis XII., oppressed by Ferdinand, and insulted by the Swiss. The chiefs of these military forces began by dispensing with the infantry to enhance the reputation

of their own forces; for, as they had no dominions of their own, and being mere soldiers of fortune, they could undertake nothing with a small body of infantry, nor could they support a more considerable force. They found therefore that cavalry was more advantageous, a small number of which enabled them to support their reputation; so, that not more than two thousand foot soldiers were considered necessary in an army of twenty thousand men. In addition to this, in order to secure themselves against all apprehension of danger, they introduced the custom of not killing any one in a battle, but contented themselves with making prisoners, whom they afterwards liberated without ransom. They never made any assault by night, at which time the besieged equally abstained from making a sortie; they never encamped but in the spring, nor did they even make entrenchments in their camp. A discipline, invented by these commanders, to avoid danger and trouble, and which has reduced Italy to a state of slavery, and lost her the high consideration she had till then enjoyed.

What Deserves Praise or Blame in Men, and Above all in Princes

It now remains to show in what manner a prince should behave to his subjects and friends. This matter having been already discussed by others, it may seem arrogant in me to pursue it farther, especially if I should differ in opinion from them; but as I write only for those who possess sound judgment, I thought it better to treat the subject as it really is, in fact, than to amuse the imagination with visionary models of republics and governments which have never existed. For the manner in which men now live is so different from the manner in which they ought to live, that he who deviates from the common course of practice, and endeavours to act as duty dictates, necessarily ensures his own destruction. Thus, a good man, and one who wishes to prove himself so in all respects, must be undone in a contest with so many who are evilly disposed. A prince who wishes to maintain his power ought therefore to learn that he should not be always good, and must use that knowledge as circumstances and the exigencies of his own affairs may seem to require.

Laying aside, then, the false ideas which have been formed as to princes, and adhering only to those which are true, I say, that all men, and especially princes, are marked and distinguished by some quality or other which entails either reputation or dishonour. For instance, men are liberal or parsimonious, honourable or dishonourable, effem-

inate or pusillanimous, courageous or enterprising, humane or cruel, affable or haughty, wise or debauched, honest or dishonest, good tempered or surly, sedate or inconsiderate, religious or impious, and so forth.

It would, doubtless, be happy for a prince to unite in himself every species of good quality; but as our nature does not allow so great a perfection, a prince should have prudence enough to avoid those defects and vices which may occasion his ruin; and as to those who can only compromise his safety and the possession of his dominions, he ought, if possible, to guard against them; but if he cannot succeed in this, he need not embarrass himself in escaping the scandal of those vices, but should devote his whole energies to avoid those which may cause his ruin. He should not shrink from encountering some blame on account of vices which are important to the support of his states; for everything well considered, there are some things having the appearance of virtues, which would prove the ruin of a prince, should he put them in practice, and others, upon which, though seemingly bad and vicious, his actual welfare and security entirely depend.

Of Cruelty and Clemency, and Whether it is Better to be Loved than Feared

To proceed to other qualities which are requisite in those who govern. A prince ought unquestionably to be merciful, but should take care how he executes his clemency. Cæsar Borgia was accounted cruel; but it was to that cruelty that he was indebted for the advantage of uniting Romagna to his other dominions, and of establishing in that province peace and tranquillity, of which it had been so long deprived. And, every thing well considered, it must be allowed that this prince showed greater clemency that the people of Florence, who, to avoid the reproach of cruelty, suffered Pistoia to be destroyed. When it is necessary for a prince to restrain his subjects within the bounds of duty, he should not regard the imputation of cruelty, because by making a few examples, he will find that he really showed more humanity in the end,, than he, who by too great indulgence, suffers disorders to arise, which commonly terminate in rapine and murder. For such disorders disturb a whole community, whilst punishments inflicted by the prince affect only a few individuals.

This is particularly true with respect to a new prince, who can scarcely avoid the reproach of cruelty, every new government being replete with dangers. Thus Virgil makes Dido excuse her severity, by

the necessity to which she was reduced of maintaining the interests of a throne which she did not inherit from her ancestors:—

Direful needs of the newly-established kingdom compelled me,
Such things to do in preserving and guarding my wide-spreading boundaries.

A prince, however, should not be afraid of phantoms of his own raising; neither should he lend too ready an ear to terrifying tales which may be told him, but should temper his mercy with prudence, in such a manner, that too much confidence may not put him off his guard, nor causeless jealousies make him insupportable. There is a medium between a foolish security and an unreasonable distrust.

It has been sometimes asked, whether it is better to be loved than feared; to which I answer, than one should wish to be both. But as that is a hard matter to accomplish, I think, if it is necessary to make a selection, that it is safer to be feared than be loved. For it may be truly affirmed of mankind in general, that they are ungrateful, fickle, timid, dissembling, and self-interested; so long as you can serve them, they are entirely devoted to you; their wealth, their blood, their lives, and even their offspring are at your disposal, when you have no occasion for them; but in the day of need, they turn their back upon you. The prince who relies on professions courts his own destruction, because the friends whom he acquires by means of money alone, and whose attachment does not spring from a regard for personal merit, are seldom proof against reverse of fortune, but abandon their benefactor when he most requires their services. Men are generally more inclined to submit to him who makes himself dreaded, than to one who merely strives to be beloved; and the reason is obvious, for friendship of this kind, being a mere mortal tie, a species of duty resulting from a benefit, cannot endure against the calculations of interest: whereas fear carries with it the dread of punishment, which never loses its influence. A prince, however, ought to make himself feared, in such a manner, that if he cannot gain the love, he may at least avoid the hatred, of his subjects; and he may attain this object by respecting his subjects' property and the honour of their wives. If he finds it absolutely necessary to inflict the punishment of death, he should avow the reason for it, and above all things, he should abstain from touching the property of the condemned party. For certain it is that men sooner forget the death of their relations than the loss of their patrimony. Besides, when he once begins to live by means of rapine, many

occasions offer for seizing the wealth of his subjects; but there will be little or no necessity for shedding blood.

But when a prince is at the head of his army, and has under his command a multitude of soldiers, he should make little account of being esteemed cruel; such a character will be useful to him, by keeping his troops in obedience, and preventing every species of faction.

Hannibal, among many other admirable talents, possessed in a high degree, that of making himself feared by his troops; inasmuch, that having led a very large army, composed of all kinds of people, into a foreign country, he never had occasion, either in prosperity or adversity, to punish the least disorder or the slightest want of discipline; and this can only be attributed to his extreme severity, and such other qualities as caused him to be feared and respected by his soldiers, and without which his extraordinary talents and courage would have been unavailing.

There have been writers notwithstanding, but, in my opinion, very injudicious ones, who, whilst they render every degree of justice to his talents and his splendid achievements, still condemn the principle on which he acted. But nothing can in this respect more fully justify him than the example of Scipio, one of the greatest generals mentioned in history. His extreme indulgence towards the troops he commanded in Spain occasioned disorders, and at length a revolt, which drew on him from Fabius Maximus, in full senate, the reproach of having destroyed the Roman soldiery. This general having suffered the barbarous conduct of one of his lieutenants towards the Locrians to go unpunished, a senator, in his justification, observed that there were some men who knew better how to avoid doing ill themselves than to punish it in others. This excess of indulgence would in time have tarnished the glory and reputation of Scipio, if he had been a prince; but as he lived under a republican government, it was not only connived at, but redounded to his glory.

I conclude, then, with regard to the question, whether it is better to be loved than feared,—that it depends on the inclinations of the subjects themselves, whether they will love their prince or not; but the prince has it in his own power to make them fear him, and if he is wise, he will rather rely on his own resources than on the caprice of others, remembering that he should at the same time so conduct himself as to avoid being hated.

Whether Princes Ought to be Faithful to their Engagements

It is unquestionably very praiseworthy in princes to be faithful to their engagements; but among those of the present day, who have been distinguished for great exploits, few indeed have been remarkable for this virtue, or have scrupled to deceive others who may have relied on their good faith.

It should, therefore, be known, that there are two ways of deciding any contest: the one by laws, the other by force. The first is peculiar to men, the second to beasts; but when laws are not sufficiently powerful, it is necessary to recur to force: a prince ought therefore to understand how to use both these descriptions of arms. This doctrine is admirably illustrated to us by the ancient poets in the allegorical history of the education of Achilles, and many other princes of antiquity, by the centaur Chiron, who, under the double form of man and beast, taught those who were destined to govern, that it was their duty to use by turns the arms adapted to both these natures, seeing that one without the other cannot be of any durable advantage. Now, as a prince must learn how to act the part of a beast sometimes, he should make the fox and the lion his patterns. The first can but feebly defend himself against the wolf, and the latter readily falls into such snares as are laid for him. From the fox, therefore, the prince will learn dexterity in avoiding snares; and from the lion, how to employ his strength to keep the wolves in awe. But they who entirely rely upon the lion's strength, will not always meet with success: in other words, a prudent prince cannot and ought not to keep his word, except when he can do it without inury to himself, or when the circumstances under which he contracted the engagement still exist.

I should be cautious in inculcating such a precept if all men were good; but as the generality of mankind are wicked, and ever ready to break their words, a prince should not pique himself in keeping his more scrupulously, especially as it is always easy to justify a breach of faith on his part. I could give numerous proofs of this, and show numberless engagements and treaties which have been violated by the treachery of princes, and that those who enacted the part of the fox have always succeeded best in their affairs. It is necessary, however, to disguise the appearance of craft, and thoroughly to understand the art of feigning and dissembling; for men are generally so simple and so weak, that he who wishes to deceive easily finds dupes.

One example, taken from the history of our own times, will be sufficient. Pope Alexander VI. played during his whole life a game of deception; and nothwithstanding his faithless conduct was extremely well known, his artifices always proved successful. Oaths and protestations cost him nothing; never did a prince so often break his word or pay less regard to his engagements. This was because he so well understood this chapter in the art of government.

It is not necessary, however, for a prince to possess all the good qualities I have enumerated, but it is indispensable that he should appear to have them. I will even venture to affirm, that it is sometimes dangerous to use, though it is alsways useful to seem to possess them. A prince should earnestly endeavour to gain the reputation of kindness, clemency, piety, justice, and fidelity to his engagements. He ought to possess all these good qualities, but still retain such power over himself as to display their opposites whenever it may be expedient. I maintain, that a prince, and especially a new prince, cannot with impunity exercise all the virtues, because his own self-preservation will often compel him to violate the laws of charity, religion, and humanity. He should habituate himself to bend easily to the various circumstances which may from time to time surround him. In a word, it will be as useful to him to persevere in the path of rectitude, while he feels no inconvenience in doing so, as to know how to deviate from it when circumstances dictate such a course. He should make it a rule above all things, never to utter anything which does not breathe of kindness, justice, good faith, and piety: this last quality it is most important for him to appear to possess, as men in general judge more from appearances than from reality. All men have eyes, but few have the gift of penetration. Every one sees your exterior, but few can discern what you have in your heart; and those few dare not oppose the voice of the multitude, who have the majesty of their prince on their side. Now, in forming a judgment of the minds of men, and more especially of princes, as we cannot recur to any tribunal, we must attend only to results. Let it then be the prince's chief care to maintain his authority; the means he employs, be what they may, will, for this purpose, always appear honourable and meet applause; for the vulgar are ever caught by appearances, and judge only by the event. And as the world is chiefly composed of such as are called the vulgar, the voice of the few is seldom or never hear or regarded.

There is a prince now alive (whose name it may not be proper to mention) who ever preaches the doctrines of peace and good faith;

but if he had observed either the one or the other, he would long ago have lost his reputation and dominions.

That it is Necessary to Avoid Being Hated and Despised

Having distinctly considered the principal qualities with which a prince should be endowed, I shall briefly discuss the rest in a general discourse under the following heads, viz., that a prince ought sedulously to avoid every thing which may make him odious or despicable. If he succeed in this, he may fill his part with reasonable success, and need not fear danger from the infamy of other vices.

Nothing, in my opinion, renders a prince so odious as the violation of the right of property and a disregard to the honour of married women. Subjects will live contentedly enough under a prince who neither invades their property nor their honour; and then he will only have to contend against the pretensions of a few ambitious persons, whom he can easily find means to restrain.

A prince whose conduct is light, inconstant, pusillanimous, irresolute, and effeminate, is sure to be despised: these defects he ought to shun as he would so many rocks, and endeavour to display a character for courage, gravity, energy, and magnificence in all his actions. His decisions in matters between individuals should be irrevocable, so that none may dare to think of abusing or deceiving him. By these means he will conciliate the esteem of his subjects, and prevent any attempts to subvert his authority. He will then have less to apprehend from external enemies, who will be cautious in their attacks upon a prince who has secured the affection of his subjects. A prince has two things to guard against, the machinations of his own subjects and the attempts of powerful foreigners. The latter he will be able to repel by means of good friends and good troops; and these he will be sure to have as long as his arms are respectable. Besides, internal peace can only be interrupted by conspiracies, which are only dangerous when they are encouraged and supported by foreign powers. The latter, however, dare not stir, if the prince but conform to the rules I have laid down, and follow the example of Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.

With regard to his subjects, if all be at peace without his dominions, a prince has nothing to dread but secret conspiracies, from which he may always secure himself by avoiding whatever can render him odious or contemptible. Conspiracies are seldom formed except against princes whose ruin and death would be acceptable to the people,

otherwise men would not expose themselves to the dangers inseparable from such machinations.

History is filled with conspiracies; but how few have been crowned with success? No one can carry on such a design alone, nor trust any accomplices but malcontents. These frequently denounce their confederates and frustrate their designs, in the hope of obtaining a large remuneration from him against whom they are leagued; so that those with whom you are necessarily associated in a conspiracy are placed between the temptation of a considerable reward and the dread of a great danger; so that to keep the secret it must either be entrusted to a very extraordinary friend or an irreconcilable enemy of the prince.

In short, conspirators live in continual fear, jealousy, and suspicion, whilst the prince is supported by all the splendour and majesty of the government, the laws, customs, and the assistance of his friends, not to mention the affection which subjects naturally entertain towards those who govern them. So that conspirators have reason to fear both before and after the execution of their designs, for when the people have been once exasperated, there is no resource left to which they may fly. Of this I might give many examples, but I shall content myself with one only which occurred in the last century.

Hannibal Bentivoglio, the grandfather of the reigning prince of Bologna, had been murdered by the Canneschi, and the only member of the family who survived was John Bentivoglio, then an infant in the cradle. The people rose against the conspirators, and massacred the whole family of the murderers; and in order still more strongly to show their attachment to the house of Bentivoglio, as there was none of the family left who was capable of governing the state, the Bolonese having received information that a natural son of that prince then lived at Florence, sent deputies thither to demand him, though he lived in that city under the name of an artisan who passed for his father, and to him they confided the direction of the state till John Bentivoglio should be of age to govern.

A prince has therefore little to fear from conspiracies when he possesses the affections of the people; but he has no resource left, if this support should fail him. Content the people and manage the nobles, and you have the maxim of wise governors.

France holds the first rank amongst well governed states. One of the wisest institutions they possess is unquestionably that of the parliament, whose object is to watch over the security of the government and the liberties of the people. The founders of this institution

were aware, on the one hand, of the insolence and ambition of the nobles, and, on the other, of the excess to which the people are liable to be transported against them, and they endeavoured to restrain both, without the intervention of the king, who never could have taken part with the people, as he must thereby render the nobles discontented; nor could he favour the latter, without exciting the hatred of the people. Upon this account they have instituted an authority which, without the interference of the king, may favour the people and repress the insolence of the nobles. It must be confessed that nothing is more likely to give consistency to the government, and ensure the tranquillity of the people. And we may learn from hence, that princes should reserve to themselves distribution of favours and employments, and leave to the magistrates the care of pronouncing punishments, and, indeed, the general disposal of all things likely to excite discontent.

I repeat that a prince ought to cherish and support the nobility, but without attracting the hatred of the people. It may perhaps be objected that several Roman emperors were deposed and murdered by conspirators, though their conduct was replete with wisdom, talents, and courage. In answer to this objection, let us examine the character of some of these emperors, such as Marcus the philosopher, Commodus his son, Pertinax, Julian, Severus, Antoninus, Caracalla his son, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander, and Maximinus. This examination will naturally lead me to unfold the causes of their downfall, and to justify what I have before said in this chapter, respecting the conduct that princes ought to adopt.

I must first observe, that the Roman emperors had not only to restrain the ambition of the nobles and the insolence of the people, but they had also to contend with the cruelty and avarice of the soldiery, which was the ruin of several of those princes, it being almost impossible to please the soldiery without discontenting the people, who wished for peace as much as the former panted for war. The people sighed for a pacific prince, and the soldiers for one who delighted in war, ambitious, cruel, and insolent, not certainly to themselves, but opposed to the people, as from such a one they might hope for double pay, and an opportunity of satiating their avarice and cruelty at the expense of their fellow subjects. From hence it happened that those emperors, whose nature was averse to harsh measures, were unable to retain either soldiery or people in subjection, and their own inevitable ruin was the result. Most of them, indeed, particularly those who were advanced to the throne from a private condition, despairing to

reconcile interests totally opposite, determined to take part with the troups, and troubled themselves but little about the discontents of the people; and this conduct was the safest, for in the alternative of exciting the hatred of the greater or lesser number, it is better to take part with the strongest side. Those emperors, therefore, who raised themselves to empire, and stood in need of extraordinary support to maintain their power, chose rather to adhere to the soldiery than the people, which turned to their profit a disadvantage according to the degree of reputation they had with the military.

Marcus, the philosopher, Pertinax, and Alexander, princes as remarkable for their clemency as their love of justice and the simplicity of their manners, all came to unfortunate ends, except the first, and he indeed lived and died in peace and honour, because he succeeded to the empire by hereditary right, and was under no obligation either to the troops or to the people; and this circumstance, joined to his own excellent qualities, rendered him dear to all, and enabled him to restrain the soldiery within the bounds of duty. But Pertinax being desirous to subject the military (against whose inclination, moreover, he had been elected emperor) to a very different and more severe discipline than had been observed by his predecessor Commodus, a few months after his elevation, fell a victim to their hatred, increased, perhaps, by the contempt which his great age inspired. We may here remark, that hatred is as easily incurred by good actions as by evil; and hence, as I have said before, a prince is often compelled to be wicked in order to maintain his power. For when the strongest party is corrupt (whether it be the people, the nobles, or the troops) he must comply with their disposition and content them, and from that moment he must renounce doing good, or it will prove his ruin.

As to Alexander, his clemency has been much praised by historians, but he was nevertheless an object of contempt, on account of his effeminacy, and because he suffered himself to be governed by his mother. The army conspired against this prince, who was so good and so humane that in the course of a reign of fourteen years not one person was put to death without a trial. He was however sacrificed by his soldiers. On the other hand, Commodus, Severus, Caracalla, and Maximinus, having indulged themselves in all kinds of excess to satisfy the avarice and cruelty of the troops, experienced no happier fate; with the exception of Severus, who reigned peaceably, though in order to satisfy the cupidity of the troops he oppressed the people; but he had excellent qualities, which gained him at once the affection

of the soldiers and the admiration of his subjects. Now, as he raised himself to empire from a private station, and may for that reason serve as a model for those who may hereafter be in the same situation, I think it necessary to show briefly in what manner he assumed by turns, the qualities of the fox and the lion, the two animals which, as I have said before, ought to serve as a model to princes.

Severus, knowing the cowardice of the emperor Julian, persuaded the army under his command, in Illyria, to march to Rome, in order to avenge the death of Pertinax, who had been massacred by the pretorian guard. Under this pretence, and without any suspicion that he aimed at empire, this general arrived in Italy, before any one had intelligence of his departure from Illyria. He entered Rome, and the intimidated senate named him emperor, and put Julian to death. But he had still two obstacles to surmount before he became master of the whole empire. Pescennius Niger, and Albinus, one of whom commanded in Asia, and the other in the western part of the empire, were both his competitors. The first of these had been proclaimed emperor by his own legions. Severus perceiving that he could not without danger attack them both at the same time, determined to march against Niger, and to deceive Albinus by a proposal to share the government with him; and this offer was accepted by Albinus without hesitation. But he had no sooner vanquished and put Pescennius Niger to death, and pacified the eastern district, than returning to Rome, he complained bitterly of Albinus's ingratitude, whom he did not hesitate to accuse of an attempt upon his life; upon which account he said he was obliged to pass the Alps, in order to punish him for his ingratitude. Severus arrived in Gaul, and Albinus lost at once the empire and his life.

If we attentively examine the conduct of this emperor, we shall find him as fierce as a lion and as cunning as a fox; feared and respected by his troops as well as by the people; but it will not seem strange that a private individual should maintain so difficult a post, if we recollect that it was by commanding esteem and admiration that he disarmed the hatred which his capacity would otherwise have excited.

Antonius (Caracalla his son) possessed also many excellent qualities, which made him dear to the legions and respected by the people; he was a warrier, an indefatigable enemy of effeminacy and high living, which rendered him the idol of the army; but then he carried his ferocity to such a pitch, that not only the people but the soldiery, and even his own officers, bore him an irreconcilable hatred. He perished by the hand of a centurion; a feeble vengeance for all the blood he had

caused to be shed in Rome and Alexandria, where none of the inhabitants escaped carnage.

From hence we may observe that it is difficult for princes to escape such attempts at assassination as proceed from an obstinate and determined resolution. Their lives are at the mercy of every one who despises death; but as these attempts are but rare, princes should not be very uneasy about them. They should however avoid giving any grievous offence to those who are constantly about their persons. This was peculiarly the error of Antoninus, who retained among his body guard a centurion whose brother he had put to an ignominious death, and whom he was continually terrifying with menaces, an imprudence which cost him his life.

As to Commodus, he might easily have maintained his power had he but trod in the steps of his father, to whom alone he was indebted for the empire; but as he was cruel, brutal, and avaricious, the discipline which prevailed in the army soon gave way to the most unbridled licentiousness; he had also rendered himself contemptible to the army by his total disregard of his own dignity, of which he thought so little, that he was not ashamed to descend into the arena, and there combat with the common gladiators: he fell a sacrifice to a conspiracy provoked by the hatred and contempt which he had excited by his meanness, his avarice, and his ferocity. It now only remains to consider the character of Maximinus.

The legions having rid themselves of Alexander, whom they deemed too effeminate, made choice of Maximinus, a great warrior; but he becoming odious and contemptible, soon lost his life and the empire. The meanness of his birth (he was known to have been a Thracian shepherd), his great delay in appearing at Rome to take possession of the empire, but above all, the cruelties of his lieutenants, both in the capital and in the rest of the empire, rendered him so vile and odious, that Africa, in the first place, and afterwards the whole senate and people of Rome, and all Italy, conspired against him, and were supported by his own army, who, disgusted with his cruelties and fatigued with the length of the siege of Aquileia, put him to death with the less apprehension, as they saw how universally he was detested.

I shall say nothing of Heliogabalus, Macrinus, or Julian, who all died covered with ignominy. But I shall add, in conclusion, that princes of the present day are under no necessity of gratifying the soldiery in their governments, because they do not form, as at Rome, an

independent body, nor do they continue for years in the same governments and provinces, and are not therefore to be dreaded, provided they are treated with a suitable degree of respect. At Rome, the chief policy of the emperors was to content the soldiery; but in our modern states the people are the class whose affection it is most important to obtain, as being the strongest and most powerful. I except Turkey and Egypt. We know that the Grand Signior is obliged to keep on foot an army of twelve thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry, which constitute the strength and security of his government, and it is consequently of the highest importance to him to conciliate their affections. It is the same with respect to the soldan of Egypt, whose troops have, as we may say, the power in their own hands, and he is consequently obliged to treat them with great respect, and to humour them moreover at the expense of the people, from whom he has nothing to apprehend. This government resembles no other, unless perhaps the Roman pontificate. It cannot properly be called either hereditary or new, since, at the soldan's death, his children do not succeed, but he who is chosen by particular persons, vested with the power of election; nor is it subject to those inconveniences which are incident to a new state, because the person of the prince is new, yet the government having been long established, he is received as if he enjoyed an hereditary right.

To return however to my subject, upon attentive examination, it will be seen, that the Roman emperors, whose unfortunate fate has been objected to me, have chiefly perished by having made themselves odious and contemptible. This is the reason why several of them, whether their characters were good or bad, experienced a fate so different from those in whose steps they endeavoured to tread. It was thus that Alexander and Pertinax, who had elevated themselves, were destroyed by attempting to tread in the steps of Marcus, who came to the empire by hereditary right, and who therefore owed no obligation either to the people or the legions. Caracalla, Commodus, and Maximinus, were severally sacrificed by an attempt to imitate the conduct of Severus, to whom they were far from equal in talent.

A new prince should therefore conduct himself differently from Marcus and Severus; but he may learn from the first how to elevate himself, and from the second, by what means he may maintain himself in that elevation.

By What Means a Prince May Become Esteemed

Nothing is more likely to make a prince esteemed than great enterprises, and extraordinary actions. Ferdinand, the present king of Spain, may be considered as a new prince, because he has advanced himself from a petty state to be the most renowned monarch in Christendom. Now, if we examine his actions, they all deserve to be accounted great, and some of them indeed are splendid.

Scarcely was this prince seated on the throne when he turned his arm against the kingdom of Grenada; and this war laid the foundation of his greatness, in which he met with no impediment, for the nobles of Castile were so intent on the invasion, that they wholly disregarded his political innovations. In the meantime he insensibly established a dominion over them, by maintaining armies at the expense of the church and people, and by disciplining them in such a manner as afterwards made his power irresistible. Afterwards, in order that he might undertake enterprises still more brilliant, he dexterously assumed the mask of religion, and, by a cruel piety, drove the Moors out of his dominions. The means he took for this enterprise were, without doubt, barbarous; yet the exploit was extraordinary and almost unexampled.

Ferdinand, under the same cloak of religion, afterwards attacked Africa, Italy, and France, always having some great design in agitation, the event of which kept his subjects in continual suspense and admiration. And those enterprises succeeded each other so speedily, that his subjects had no leisure to think of other matters, much less to engage in conspiracies against him.

It is also of great service to a prince to afford rare examples of civil administration, especially when it is necessary to reward or punish in an exemplary manner, for the extraordinary good or evil his subjects may have done. Barnabas, lord of Milan, was in that respect an example worthy of imitation. A prince should also invest his actions with a character of greatness, and above all things, avoid weakness and indecision. He must be a firm friend or an open foe, otherwise he will with difficulty conciliate his subjects. Should two powerful neighbors go to war, he must declare for one of them, or he will inevitably become the prey of the conqueror; and the vanquished party will be gratified at his ruin, and thus he will lose all protection; for the conqueror will despise a doubtful friend, who may abandon him on the first reverse of fortune, and the vanquished will never pardon him for remaining a tranquil spectator of his defeat.

When Antiochus marched into Greece, on the invitation of the Etolians, to drive out the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the Achaians, friends of the latter, to secure their neutrality. The Romans on the other hand demanded their assistance. The affair being taken into deliberation in the council of the Achaians, the Roman envoy spoke after the ambassador of Antiochus, and said, "You are advised to remain neutral, as the safest mode of conduct; and I assure you there can be none so bad; for you will inevitably remain at the mercy of the conqueror, whoever he may be, and will thus have two chances to one against you."

They can be no real friends who ask you to stand neuter. This consideration alone ought to open the eyes of a prince to the consequences of such conduct. Irresolute princes frequently embrace a neutrality to avoid some present inconvenience; but they meet their ruin by such a course. A bold adhension to one party secures friendship by the tie of gratitude, and leaves but little to fear from the mercy of the conqueror; first, because men are seldom so wholly destitute of honour as to repay benefits by so revolting ingratitude: secondly, because victory is rarely so very complete as to place the conqueror in a state to violate all the laws of propriety. If, on the other hand, he whose fortune the prince espouses should be vanquished, he may in time retrieve his losses, and acknowledge this mark of preference and esteem.

A prince ought never, as I have already observed, unless under the pressure of circumstances, to espouse the part of a neighboring state more powerful than himself, because he lies at the mercy of his neighbour should he be the conqueror. Thus the Venetians were ruined by unnecessarily allying themselves with France against the duke of Milan. The Florentines, on the other hand, could not be blamed for embracing the cause of the pope and the king of Spain, when they marched their forces against Lombardy; because by adopting this step, they yielded to the dictates of necessity. After all, no party can be absolutely sure of success, and sometimes one danger is avoided only to encounter a greater; the utmost human prudence can do in such extremities, is to choose the lesser evil.

Princes ought to honour talents and protect the arts, particularly commerce and agriculture. It is peculiarly important that those who follow such pursuits should be secure from all dread of being overcharged with taxes, and despoiled of their lands after they have improved them by superior cultivation. Finally, they should not neglect

to entertain the people at certain periods of the year with festivals and shows, and they should honour with their presence the different trading companies and corporations, and display on such occasions the greatest affability and facility of access, always remembering to support their station with becoming dignity, which should never be lost sight of, under any circumstances.

Of Ministers

A proper choice of ministers is of no small importance to a prince, for the first opinion that is proved of his capacity, arises from the persons by whom he is surrounded. When they are men of ability, he is deemed a wise prince for having discovered their worth, and found means to attach them to him. But when they prove otherwise, a mean opinion is entertained of his judgment from the unfit selection he has made. All those who knew Antonio de Venafro rendered justice to the judgment and wisdom of Pandolpho Petrucci, who chose so able a man for the administration of his affairs.

In the capacities of mankind there are three degrees: one man understands things by means of his own natural endowments; another understands things when they are explained to him; and a third can neither understand them of himself, nor when they are explained by others. The first are rare and excellent, the second have their merit, but the last are wholly worthless.

Pandolpho belonged at least to the second class; for when a prince can distinguish what is useful from what is injurious, he may, without being a man of genius, judge of the conduct of his ministers, and praise or blame it with such discretion, that they, from a conviction they cannot deceive, serve him with zeal and fidelity.

But how are princes to know their ministers? There is one infallible rule, viz., to observe whether he attends more to his own interest than to that of the state. A minister should be entirely devoted to the public service, and should never address the prince on his private affairs. It is the part of the prince to attend to the interests of the minister, and to heap honours, riches, fortune, and other favours upon him, that so he may be satisfied in his station, and have no reason to desire a change; in fine, that he may dread, and endeavour with all his power to prevent, any fatal reverse which may threaten his master. And this is the only method of establishing between a prince and his ministers a confidence equally useful and honourable to both.

I must not forget to mention one evil against which princes should

ever be upon their guard, and which they cannot avoid except by the greatest prudence, and this evil is the flattery which reigns in every court. Men have so much self-love, and so good an opinion of themselves, that it is very difficult to steer clear of such contagion; and besides, in endeavouring to avoid it, they run the risk of being despised.

For princes have no other way of expelling flatterers than by showing that the truth will not offend. Yet if every one had the privilege of uttering his sentiments with impunity, what would become of the respect due to the majesty of the sovereign? A prudent prince should take a middle course, and make choice of some discreet men in his state, to whom alone he may give the liberty of telling him the truth on such subjects as he shall inquire information from them. He ought undoubtedly to interrogate them, and hear their opinions upon every subject of importance, and determine afterwards according to his own judgment, conducting himself at all times in such a manner as to convince every one that the more freely they speak the more acceptable they will be. After which he should listen to nobody else, but proceed firmly and steadily in the execution of what he has determined.

A prince who acts otherwise is either bewildered by the adulation of flatterers, or loses all respect and consideration by the uncertain and wavering conduct he is obliged to pursue. This doctrine can be supported by an instance from the history of our own times. Father Luke said of the Emperor Maximilian, his master, now on the throne, that "he never took counsel of any person, and notwithstanding he never acted from an opinion of his own," and in this he adopted a method diametrically opposite to that which I have proposed. For as this prince never entrusted his designs to any of his ministers, their suggestions were not made till the very moment when they should be executed; so that, pressed by the exigencies of the moment, and overwhelmed with obstacles and unforeseen difficulties, he was obliged to yield to whatever opinions his ministers might offer. Hence it happens, that what he does one day, he is obliged to cancel the next; and thus nobody can depend on his decisions, for it is impossible to know what will be his ultimate determination.

A prince ought to take the opinions of others in everything, but only at such times as it pleases himself, and not whenever they are obtruded upon him, so that no one shall presume to give him advice when he does not request it. He ought to be inquisitive, and listen with attention; and when he perceives any one hesitate to tell him the

full truth, he ought to evince the utmost displeasure at such conduct.

Those are much mistaken who imagine that a prince who listens to the counsel of others will be but little esteemed, and thought incapable of acting on his own judgment. It is an infallible rule, that a prince who does not possess an intelligent mind of his own can never be well advised, unless he is entirely governed by the advice of an able minister, on whom he may repose the whole cares of government; but in this case he runs a great risk of being stripped of his authority by the very person to whom he has so indiscreetly confided his power. And if, instead of one counsellor, he has several, how can he, ignorant and uninformed as he is, conciliate the various and opposite opinions of those ministers, who are probably more intent on their own interests than those of the state, and that without his suspecting it.

Besides, men being naturally wicked, incline to good only when they are compelled to it; from whence we may conclude, that good counsel, come from what quarter it may, is owing entirely to the wisdom of the prince, and the wisdom of the prince does not arise from the goodness of the counsel.

Why the Princes of Italy Lost Their Estates

A prince, even of new creation, may maintain himself as easily in his states as one who reigns by hereditary right, if he but follow the maxims I have laid down; and his situation will be, perhaps, in some respect, preferable; as we are apt to pay more attention to the conduct of a new prince, and therefore if he govern with wisdom, his merit will conciliate the esteem and affection of his subjects more than any legitimate right of dominion. It is, besides, well known, that men think much more of the present than the past, and never seek for change so long as they find themselves comfortable. A prince, who performs his duties well need never fear the want of defenders; his recent elevation, so far from being a motive for esteeming him in a less degree, will, on the contrary, double his glory, on account of the obstacles he has had to conquer, and which his merit alone has enabled him to surmount. So that he will acquire the renown not only of having founded a new principality, but of having established wise laws, a good army, firm alliances, and virtuous examples; whereas he who was born a prince, and loses his dominions by imprudent conduct, deserves eternal infamy.

If we examine the conduct of the king of Naples, the duke of Milan, and others, who have lost their dominions in our own time, we

shall find that they have all committed a grand fault in neglecting to institute a national militia. Nay, more, they appear to have given themselves no trouble to gain the affections of the people and the friendship of the nobles, for a prince who avoids such errors, and is strong enough to bring an army into the field, can never well be stripped of his dominions. Philip of Macedon, I do not mean the father of Aleaxnder the Great, but the monarch who was defeated by Titus Quintius, possessed only a petty state, when compared with the territories of either Rome or Greece, whose combined efforts he had to withstand; yet he resisted those two great powers, and during the several years that the war lasted he lost only a few towns; but he was a warrior, and knew the art of gaining the affections of his people and the esteem of the great. It is not, therefore, owing to the malevolence of fortune, that the princes of Italy have lost possession of their dominions, but to their own cowardice and want of foresight. For they were so far from believing such a revolution in their fortunes possible (which commonly the case with governments whose tranquillity has not been disturbed for some time), that when they saw the enemy approach they fled instead of defending themselves, vainly fancying that the people would feel impatient under the insolence of a conqueror, and instantly recall them. A course, indeed, which must be taken, when all other resources fail, but surely he is much to be condemned who neglects all other remedies and confides in that alone, and ignobly flying, in the hope that he may be recalled to the dominions he has shamefully deserted; a hope ridiculous and vain, but even were it well founded, he who counts on foreign aid is sure to find a master in his defender. It is in himself and in his own courage alone that a prince should seek refuge against the reverses of fortune.

The Influence of Fortune

I know that several have thought, and many still are of opinion, that all sublunary events are governed either by Divine Providence or by chance, in such a manner that human wisdom has no share in their direction; and hence they infer that man should abstain from interfering with their course, and leave everything to its natural tendency.

The revolutions which in our times are of such frequent recurrence, seem to support this doctrine, and I own, that I, myself, am almost inclined to favour such opinions, particularly when I consider how far those events surpass all human conjecture; yet, as we confessedly possess a free will, it must, I think, be allowed, that chance

does not so far govern the world as to leave no province for the exercise of human prudence.

For my own part, I cannot help comparing the blind power of chance to rapid river, which, having overflowed its banks, inundates the plain, uproots trees, carries away houses and lands, and sweeps all before it in its destructive progress; everybody flies possessing neither resolution nor power to oppose its fury. But this should not discourage us, when the river has returned within its natural limits, from constructing dykes and banks to prevent a recurrence of similar disasters. It is the same with fortune; she exercises her power when we oppose no barrier to her progress.

If we cast our eyes on Italy, which has been the theatre of these revolutions, and consider the causes by which they have been provoked, we shall find it to be a defenceless country. If she had been properly fortified like Germany, Spain, or France, such innundations of foreigners would never have happened, or at least their irruptions would have been attended with less devastation.

Let this suffice in general concerning the necessity of opposing fortune. But to descend to particulars. It is no uncommon thing to see a prince fall from prosperity to adversity, without our being able to attribute his fate to any change in conduct or character; for, as I have already shown at large, he who relies solely on fortune must be ruined inevitably whenever she abandons them.

Those princes who adapt their conduct to circumstances are rarely unfortunate. Fortune is only changeable to those who cannot conform themselves to the varying exigencies of the times; for we see different men take different courses to obtain the end they have in view; for instance, in pursuit of riches or glory, one prosecutes his object at random, the other with caution and prudence: one employs art, the other force; one is impetuosity itself, the other all patience; means by which each may severally succeed. It also happens that of two who follow the same route, one may arrive at his destination, and the other fail; and that if two other persons, whose dispositions are diametrically opposite, pursue the same object by wholly different means, yet both shall equally prosper; which is entirely owing to the temper of the times, which always prove favourable or adverse, according as men conform to them.

Circumstances also frequently decide whether a prince conducts himself well or ill on any particular occasion. There are times when an extraordinary degree of prudence is necessary; there are others

when the prince should know how to trust some things to chance; but there is nothing more difficult than suddenly to change his conduct and character; sometimes from inability to resists his old habits and inclinations, at others, from want of resolution to quit a course in which he had always been successful.

Julius II., who was of a fiery and violent disposition, succeeded in all his enterprises; doubtless, because a prince of such a character was best adapted to the circumstances under which the church was then governed by his pontiff. Witness his first invasion of the territory of Bologna, in the life of John Bentivoglio, which gave great umbrage to the Venetians and the kings of France and Spain, but none of them dared to interfere. The first, because they did not feel themselves strong enough to cope with a pontiff of his character; Spain, because she was engaged in the conquest of Naples; and France, besides having an interest in keeping fair with Julius, wished still to humble the Venetians; so that she, without hesitation, granted the pope all the assistance he required.

Julius II., therefore, by a precipitate mode of proceeding, succeeded in an enterprise which could not have been accomplished by cool and deliberate measures. He would unquestionably have failed had he given Spain and the Venetians time to reflect on his designs, and if he had allowed France the opportunity of amusing him by excuses and delays.

Julius II. displayed in all his enterprises the same character of violence; and his successes have in that respect fully justified him: but he did not perhaps live long enough to experience the inconstancy of fortune; for had an occasion unexpectedly occurred in which it would have been necessary to act with prudence and circumspection, he would infallibly have been ruined, in consequence of that impetuosity and inflexibility of character which wholly governed him.

From all these circumstances we may conclude, that those who cannot change their system when occasion requires it, will no doubt continue prosperous as long as they glide with the stream of fortune; but when that turns against them, they are ruined, from not being able to follow that blind goddess through all her variations.

Besides, I think that it is better to be bold than too circumspect; because fortune is of a sex that likes not a tardy wooer, and repulses all who are not ardent; she declares also, more frequently, in favour of those who are young, because they are bold and enterprising.

Exhortation to Deliver Italy

When I take a review of the subject matter treated of in this book, and examine whether the circumstances in which we are now placed would be favourable to the establishment of a new government, honourable alike to its founder and advantageous to Italy, it appears to me that there never was, nor ever will be, a period more appropriate for the execution of so glorious an undertaking.

If it was necessary that the people of Israel should be slaves to Egypt, in order to elicit the rare talents of Moses; that the Persians should groan under the oppression of the Medes, in order to prove the courage and magnanimity of Cyrus; and that the Athenians should be scattered and dispersed, in order to make manifest the rare virtues of Theseus, it will be likewise necessary, for the glory of some Italian hero, that his country should be reduced to its present miserable condition, that they should be greater slaves than the Israelites, more oppressed than the Persians, and still more dispersed than the Athenians; in a word, that they should be without laws and without chiefs, pillaged, torn to pieces, and enslaved by foreign powers.

And though is has sometimes unquestionably happened that men have arisen, who appeared to be sent by Heaven to achieve our deliverance; yet jealous fortune has ever abandoned them in the midst of their career; so that our unfortunate country still groans and pines away in the expectation of a deliverer, who may put an end to the devastations in Lombardy, Tuscany, and the kingdom of Naples. She supplicates Heaven to raise up a prince who may free her from the odious and humilating yoke of foreigners, who may close the numberless wounds with which she has been so long afflicted, and under whose standard she may march against her cruel oppressors.

But on whom can Italy cast her eyes except upon your illustrious house, which, visibly favoured by Heaven and the church, the government of which is confided to its care, possesses also the wisdom and the power necessary to undertake so glorious an enterprise? and I cannot think that the execution of this project will seem difficult if you reflect on the actions and conduct of the heroes whose examples I have above adduced. Though their exploits were indeed wonderful, they were still men; and although their merit raised them above others, yet none of them certainly were placed in a situation so favourable as that in which you now stand. You have justice on your side; their cause was not more lawful than yours, and the blessing of God will attend

you no less than them. Every war that is necessary is just; and it is humanity to take up arms for the defence of a people to whom no other resource is left.

All circumstances concur to facilitate the execution of so noble a project, for the accomplishment of which it will only be necessary to tread in the steps of those great men whom I have had an opportunity of mentioning in the course of this work. For though some of them, it is true, were conducted by the hand of God in a wonderful manner, though the sea divided to let them pass, a cloud directed their course, a rock streamed with water to assuage their thirst, and manna fell from heaven to appease their hunger, yet there is no occasion for such miracles at present, as you possess in yourself sufficient power to execute a plan you ought by no means to neglect. God will not do everything for us; much is left to ourselves, and the free exercise of our will, that so our own actions may not be wholly destitute of merit.

If none of our princes have hitherto been able to effect what is now expected from your illustrious house, and if Italy has continually been unfortunate in her wars, the evil has arisen from the defects in military discipline, which no person has possessed the ability to reform.

Nothing reflects so much honour on a new prince as the new laws and institutions established under his direction, especially when they are good, and bear the character of grandeur. Now it must be acknowledged that Italy soon accommodates herself to new forms. Her inhabitants are by no means deficient in courage, but they are destitute of proper chiefs; the proof of this is in the duels and other individual combats in which the Italians have always evinced consummate ability, whilst their valour in battles has appeared well-nigh extinguished. This can only be attributed to the weakness of the officers, who are unable to secure obedience from those who know, or think they know, the art of war. Thus we have seen the greatest generals of the present day, whose orders were never executed with exactness and celerity. These are the reasons why, in the wars in which we have been for the last twenty years engaged, the armies raised in Italy have been almost always beaten. Witness Tarus, Alexandria, Capua, Genoa, Vaila, Bologna, and Mestri.

If therefore your illustrious house is willing to regulate its conduct by the example of our ancestors, who have delivered their country from the rule of foreigners, it is necessary, above all things, as the only true foundation of every enterprise, to set on foot a national army; you cannot have better or more faithful soldiers, and though every one of

them may be a good man, yet they will become still better when they are all united, and see themselves honoured, caressed, and rewarded by a prince of their own.

It is therefore absolutely necessary to have troops raised in our own country, if we wish to protect it from the invasion of foreign powers. The Swiss as well as the Spanish infantry are highly esteemed, but both have defects which may be avoided in the formation of our troops, which would render them superior to both of those powers. The Spaniards cannot support the shock of cavalry, and the Swiss cannot maintain their ground against infantry that is equally resolute with themselves.

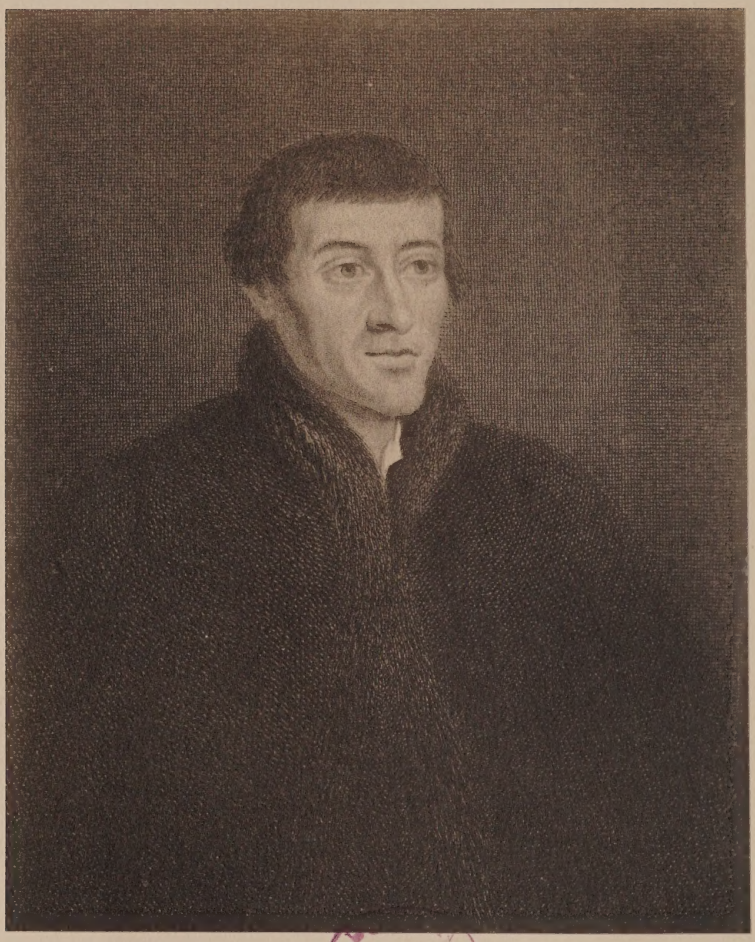
Experience has fully shown that the Spanish battalions cannot resist the French cavalry, and that the Swiss have been beaten by the infantry of Spain. And though there has not been any thorough trial with regard to the Swiss on this point, yet there were a sort of specimen at the battle of Ravenna, where the Spanish infantry came in contact with the German troops, who fought in the same order as the Swiss. Upon that occasion, the Swiss, having with their accustomed vivacity, and under the protection of their bucklers, thrown themselves across the pikes of the Germans, the latter were obliged to give way, and would have been entirely defeated, if their cavalry had not come to their relief.

It is necessary therefore to institute a military force possessing neither the defects of the Swiss or the Spanish infantry, and that may be able to maintain its ground against the French cavalry, and this is to be effected, not by changing their arms, but by altering their discipline. Nothing is more likely to make a new prince esteemed, and to render his reign illustrious.

Such an opportunity ought eagerly to be embraced, that Italy, after her long sufferings, may at least behold her deliverer appear. With what demonstrations of joy and gratitude, with what affection, with what impatience for revenge, would he not be received by those unfortunate provinces, who have so long groaned under such odious oppression. What city would shut her gates against him, and what people would be so blind as to refuse him obedience? What rivals would he have to dread? Is there one Italian who would not hasten to pay him homage? All are weary of the tyranny of these barbarians. May your illustrious house, strong in all the hopes which justice gives our cause, deign to undertake this noble enterprise, that so, under your banners, our nation may resume its ancient splendour, and, under

your auspices, behold the prophecy of Petrarch at last fulfilled.

When virtue takes the field,
  Short will the conflict be,
Barbarianrage shall yield
  The palm to Italy:
For patriot blood still warms Italian veins,
Though low the fire, a spark at least remains.



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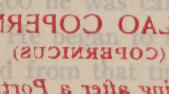
COPERNICUS



From an Engraving after a Portrait by Holbein.

NICHOLAUS COPERNICUS was born Feb. 19, 1473 in Prussia. He entered the university of Cracow in 1491, then in 1495 went to Padua and studied medicine. In 1500 he was called to Rome and took the chair of mathematics there. He began to believe that the earth went round the sun about 1507 and from that time until his death wrote, more or less intermittently, on his exposition of his theory. He delayed the publication of this exposition because afraid of being accused of heresy. The reason was this: If the earth were the center of the universe, then man might well be the greatest object of God's care; if, however, the earth was one of many planets, and not the largest one, then why should man be so important in the scheme of the universe? It was this aspect of the theory that Copernicus feared, and this was the underlying ground of the subsequent attacks against it by the Church.

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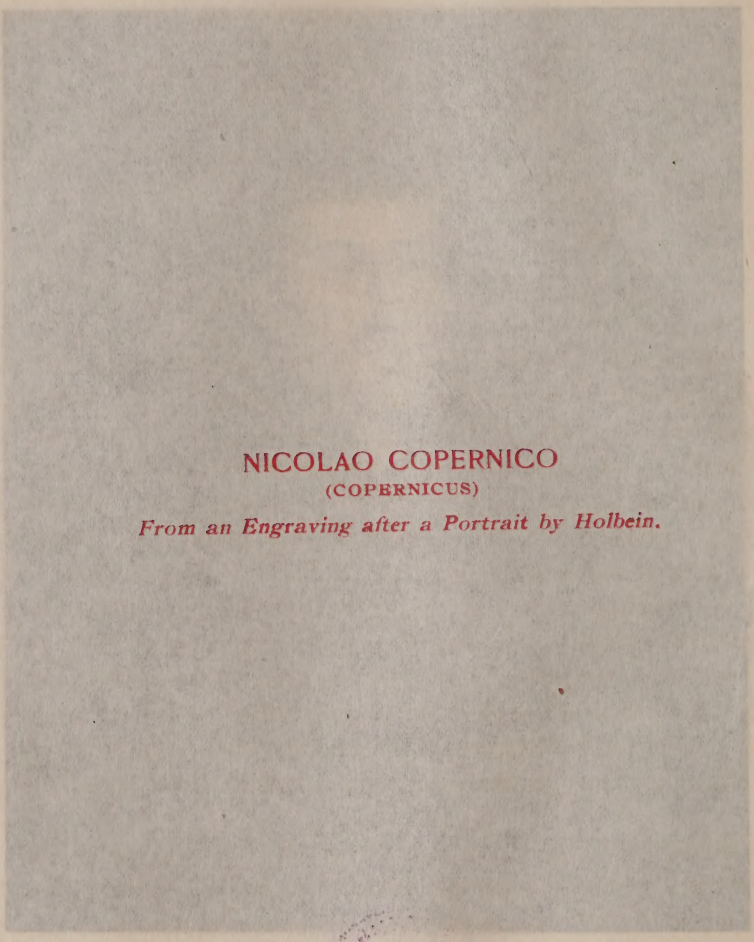

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THE COPERNICAN THEORY

That the universe is spherical.

FIRST WE must remark that the universe is spherical in form, partly because this form being a perfect whole requiring no joints, is the most complete of all, partly because it makes the most capacious form, which is best suited to contain and preserve everything; or again because all the constituent parts of the universe, that is the sun, moon and the planets appear in this form; or because everything strives to attain this form, as appears in the case of drops of water and other fluid bodies if they attempt to define themselves. So no one will doubt that this form belongs to the heavenly bodies.

That the earth is also spherical.

That the earth is also spherical is therefore beyond question, because it presses from all sides upon its center. Although by reason of the elevations of the mountains and the depressions of the valleys a perfect circle cannot be understood, yet this does not affect the general spherical nature of the earth. This appears in the following manner. To those who journey towards the North the North pole of the daily revolution of the heavenly sphere (*i.e.* the pole star?) seems gradually to rise, while the opposite seems to sink. Most of the stars in the region of the Bear seem not to set, while some of the Southern stars seem not to rise at all. So Italy does not see Canopes which is visible to the Egyptians. And Italy sees the outermost star of the Stream, which our region of a colder zone does not know. On the other hand to those who go towards the South the others seem to rise and those to sink which are high in our region. Moreover, the inclination of the Poles to the diameter of the earth bears always the same relation, which could happen only in the case of a sphere. So it is evident that the earth is included between the two poles, and is therefore spherical in form. Let us add that the inhabitants of the East do not observe the eclipse of the sun or of the moon which occurs in the evening, and the inhabitants of the West those which occur in the morning, while those who dwell between see those later and these

earlier. That the water also has the same form can be observed from the ships, in that the land which cannot be seen from the deck, is visible from the mast-tree. And conversely if a light be placed at the mast-head it seems to those who remain on the shores gradually to sink and at last still sinking to disappear. It is clear that the water also according to its nature continually presses like the earth downward, and does not rise above its banks higher than its convexity permits. So the land extends above the ocean as much as the land happens to be higher.

Whether the earth has a circular motion, and concerning the location of the earth.

As it has been already shown that the earth has the form of a sphere, we must consider whether a movement also coincides with this form, and what place the earth holds in the universe. Without this there will be no secure results to be obtained in regard to the heavenly phenomena. The great majority of authors of course agree that the earth stands still in the center of the universe, and consider it inconceivable and ridiculous to suppose the opposite. But if the matter is carefully weighed it will be seen that the question is not yet settled and therefore by no means to be regarded lightly. Every change of place which is observed is due, namely, to a movement of the observed object or of the observer, or to movements of both, naturally in different directions, for if the observed object and the observer move in the same manner and in the same direction no movement will be seen. Now it is from the earth that the revolution of the heavens is observed and it is produced for our eyes. Therefore if the earth undergoes no movement this movement must take place in everything outside of the earth, but in the opposite direction than if everything on the earth moved, and of this kind is the daily revolution. So this appears to affect the whole universe, that is, everything outside the earth with the single exception of the earth itself. If, however, one should admit that this movement was not peculiar to the heavens, but that the earth revolved from west to east, and if this was carefully considered in regard to the apparent rising and setting of the sun, the moon and the stars, it would be discovered that this was the real situation. Since the sky, which contains and shelters all things, is the common seat of all things, it is not easy to understand why motion should not be ascribed rather to the thing contained than to the containing, to the

located rather than to the location. From this supposition follows another question of no less importance, concerning th place eof the earth, although it has been accepted and believed by almost all, that the earth occupies the middle of the universe. But if one should suppose that the earth is not at the center of the universe, that, however, the distance between the two is not great enough to be measured on the orbits of the fixed stars, but would be noticeable and perceptible on the orbit of the sun or of the planets: and if one was further of the opinion that the movements of the planets appeared to be irregular as if they were governed by a center other than the earth, then such an one could perhaps have given the true reasons for the apparently irregular movement. For since the planets appear now nearer and now farther from the earth, this shows necessarily that the center of their revolutions is not the center of the earth: although it does not settle whether the earth increases and decreases the distance from them or they their distance from the earth.

Refutation of the arguments of the ancients that the earth remains still in the middle of the universe, as if it were its center.

From this and similar reasons it is supposed that the earth rests at the center of the universe and that there is no doubht of the fact. But if one believed that the earth revolved, he would certainly be of the opinion that this movement was natural and not arbitrary. For whatever is in accord with nature produces results which are the opposite of those produced by force. Things upon which force or an outside power has acted, must be injured and cannot long endure: what happens by nature, however, preserves itself well and exists in the best condition. So Ptolemy feared without good reason that the earth and all earthly objects subject to the revolution would be destroyed by the act of nature, since this latter is opposed to artificial acts, or to what is produced by the human spirit. But why did he not fear the same, and in a much higher degree, of the universe, whose motion must be as much more rapid as the heavesn are greater than the earth? Or has the heaven become so immense because it has been driven outward from the center by the inconceivable power of the revolution; while if it stood still, on the contrary, it would collapse and fall together? But surely if this is the case the extent of the heavens would increase infinitely. For the more it is driven higher by the outward force of the movement, so much the more rapid will the movement become, because of the ever increasing circle which must be traversed in 24 hours; and conversely if the movement grows the immensity of the heavens grows,

So the velocity would increase the size and the size would increase the velocity unendingly. According to the physical law that the endless cannot wear away nor in any way move, the heavens must necessarily stand still. But it is said that beyond the sky no body, no place, no vacant space, in fact nothing at all exists; then it is strange that some thing should be enclosed by nothing. But if the heaven is endless and is bounded only by the inner hollow, perhaps this establishes all the more clearly the fact that there is nothing outside the heavens, because everything is within it, but the heaven must then remain unmoved. The highest proof on which one supports the finite character of the universe is its movement. But whether the universe is endless or limited we will leave to the physiologues; this remains sure for us that the earth enclosed between the poles, is bounded by a spherical surface. Why therefore should we not take the position of ascribing to a movement conformable to its nature and corresponding to its form, rather than suppose that the whole universe whose limits are not and cannot be known moves? and why will we not recognize that the appearance of a daily revolution belongs to the heavens, but the actuality to the earth; and that the relation is similar to that of which one says: "We run out of the harbor, the lands and cities retreat from us." Because if a ship sails along quietly, everything outside of it appears to those on board as if it moved with the motion of the boat, and the boatman thinks that the boat with all on board is standing still, this same thing may hold without doubt of the motion of the earth, and it may seem as if the whole universe revolved. What shall we say, however, of the clouds and other things floating, falling or rising in the air—except that not only does the earth move with the watery elements belonging with it, but also a large part of the atmosphere, and whatever else is in any way connected with the earth; whether it is because the air immediately touching the earth has the same nature as the earth, or that the motion has become imparted to the atmosphere. A like astonishment must be felt if that highest region of the air be supposed to follow the heavenly motion, as shown by those suddenly appearing stars which the Greeks call comets or bearded stars, which belong to that region and which rise and set like other stars. We may suppose that part of the atmosphere, because of its great distance from the earth, has become free from the earthly motion. So the atmosphere which lies close to the earth and all things floating in it would appear to remain still, unless driven here and there by the wind or some other outside force, which chance may bring into play;

for how is the wind in the air different from the current in the sea? We must admit that the motion of things rising and falling in the air is in relation to the universe a double one, being always made up of a rectilinear and a circular movement. Since that which seeks of its own weight to fall is essentially earthy, so there is no doubt that these follow the same natural law as their whole; and it results from the same principle that those things which pertain to fire are forcibly driven on high. Earthly fire is nourished with earthly stuff, and it is said that the flame is only burning smoke. But the peculiarity of the fire consists in this that it expands whatever is seizes upon, and it carries this out so consitently that it can in no way and by no machinery be prevented from breaking its bonds and completing its work. The expanding motion, however, is directed from the center outward; therefore if any earthly material is ignited it moves upward. So to each single body belongs a single motion, and this is evinced preferably in a circular direction as long as the single body remains in its natural place and its entirety. In this position the movement is the circular movement which as far as the body itself is concerned is as if it did not occur. The rectilinear motion, however, siezes upon those bodies which have wandered or have been driven from their natural position or have been in any way disturbed. Nothing is so much opposed to the order and form of the world as the displacement of one of its parts. Rectilinear motion takes place only when objects are not properly related, and are not complete according to their nature because they have separated from their whole and have lost their unity. Moreover, objects which have been driven outward or away, leaving out of consideration the circular motion, do not obey a single, simple and regular motion, since they cannot be controlled simply by their lightness or by the force of their weight, and if in falling they have at first a slow movement the rapidity of the motion increases as they fall, while in the case of earthly fire which is forced upwards—and we have no means of knowing any other kind of fire—we will see that its motion is slow as if its earthly origin thereby showed itself. The circular motion, on the other hand, is always regular, because it is not subject to an intermittent cause. Those other objects, however, would cease to be either light or heavy in respect to their natural movement if they reached their own place, and thus they would fit into that movement. Therefore if the circular movement is to be ascribed to the universe as a whole and the rectilinear to the parts, we might say that the revolution is to the straight line as the natural state is to sickness. That

Aristotle divided motion into three sorts, that from the center out, that inward toward center, and that around about the center, appears to be merely a logical convenience, just as we distinguish point, line and surface, although one cannot exist without the others, and none of them are found apart from bodies. This fact is also to be considered, that the condition of immovability is held to be nobled and diviner than that of change and inconstancy, which latter therefore should be ascribed rather to the earth than to the universe, and I would add also that it seems inconsistent to attribute motion to the containing and locating clement rather than to the contained and located object, which the earth is. Finally since the planets plainly are at one time nearer and at another time farther from the earth, it would follow, on the theory that the universe revolves, that the movement of the one and same body which is known to take place about a center, that is the center of the earth, must also be directed toward the center from without and from the center outward. The movement about the center must therefore be made more general, and it suffices if that single movement be about its own center. So it appears from all these considerations that the movement of the earth is more probable than its fixity, especially in regard to the daily revolution, which is most peculiar to the earth.

THE REFORMATION

ONE OF THE FIRST steps in the Reformation was made by a man that remained a Catholic to his death. This was Erasmus, who set the world laughing by his satire against the abuses that had grown up amongst the monks and clergy. Luther began the actual struggle in 1517 by his ninety-five theses directed especially against the sale of indulgences by Tetzel. The logic of his position drove him in support of his position to advance the doctrine of justification by faith and to attack the necessity of the supremacy and mediacy of the pope. He raised the cry of Germany for the Germans, uncontrolled by ecclesiastics, and advised marriage for the clergy. A papal bull was published against him but at Worms he refused to recant. While he was kept in retirement after the Diet of Worms, he began translating the Bible into German. Most of Germany was with him, and the protesting princes united in demanding a reformation of abuses.

A similar reformation was already under way under Zwingli in Switzerland, and Henry VIII, though no friend of Lutherism, seized the headship of the English church for himself. Extremists arose. The peasants revolted and the great revolt was put down with Luther's aid. The Protestant princes laid a statement of their faith before the emperor in the Augsburg confession, 1530, and a league was formed for protection. When the Turks threatened Hungary in 1532, a temporary truce was patched up, but Protestantism continued to gain strength. The Catholic Council of Trent (1545) condemned the Lutheran doctrines and inaugurated a reform in the Catholic church that was almost as important as the Reformation itself. At the diet of Augsburg in 1555 each prince was allowed to decide on the faith of his

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state. The Protestant movement spread under Calvin in Switzerland, and Knox in Scotland. The massacre of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24, 1572) put a stop to Protestantism in France. The attempt to put down Protestantism in the low countries finally resulted in their freeing themselves from Spain. Then war broke out between Catholics and Protestants in Bohemia and spread all over Europe. The opposing armies ravaged Germany for thirty years. Its close in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia left each prince to choose the religion of his state.

The net results of this revolution in religion was the establishment of Protestantism in northern Europe, the reformation in the Catholic church itself, the beginning of the idea of the independence of religion and state, and the independence of the Netherlands.

ERASMUS

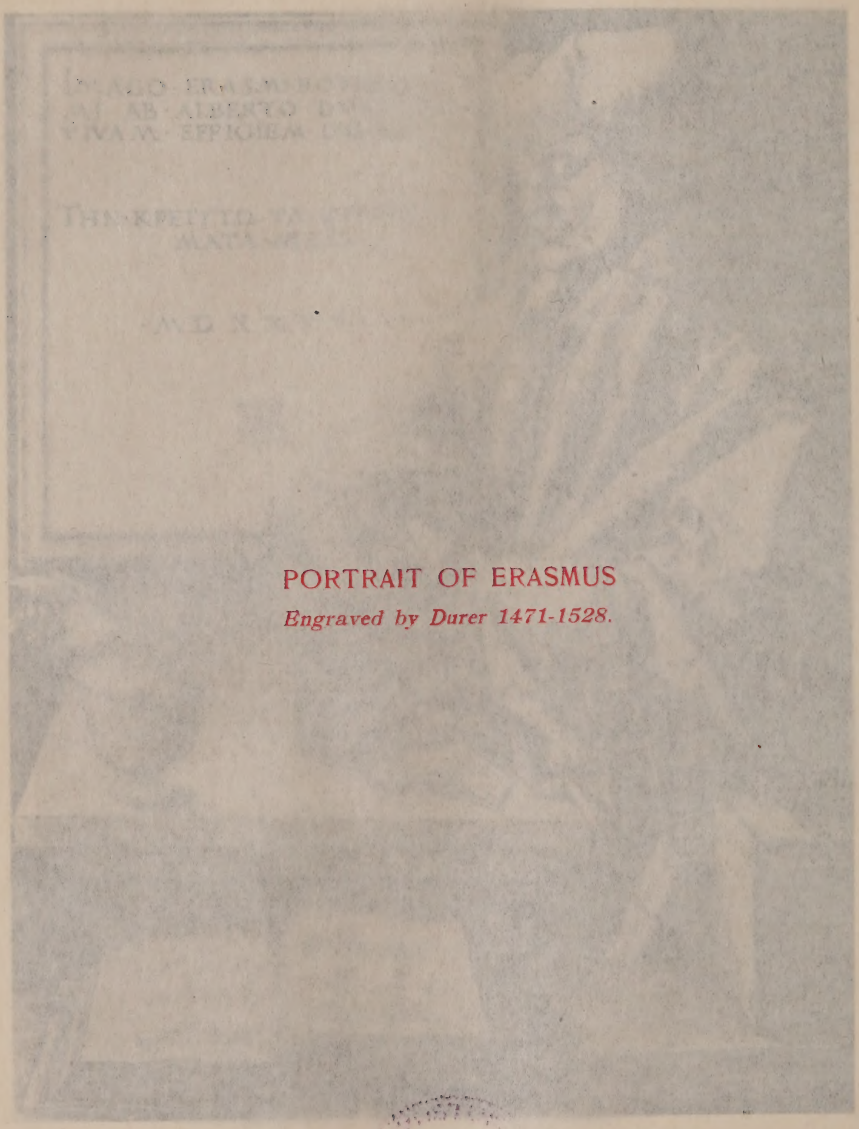
PORTRAIT OF ERASMUS

Engraved by Durer 1471-1528.

DISIDERIUS ERASMUS was born October 27 or 28 in 1466 or 1467. At nineteen he was made a monk but was dissatisfied with the life. Soon afterward a patron got permission for him to attend the University of Paris but the life there also disgusted him. In 1497 he went to England with his pupil, Lord Montjoy.

His life for the next twenty years was a roving one. He was often offered well paying positions but preferred his independence. From 1521 to 1529 he lived at Basel, Switzerland, busy as the general editor for Froben's press. The amount of work done by him during this period was enormous. He died July 12, 1536.

Erasmus was a humanist of the Renaissance. He looked at things, and among them religion, from the rational, common sense, point of view. He ridiculed the foibles and vices of the monks and clergy, and made a new translation of the New Testament. Both of these things gave impetus to the Reformation, but Erasmus disliked as much as the vices of the priests the fanaticism of Luther, and remained a Catholic. What he would have welcomed was a reformation within the Catholic church based on reasonable principles and intelligent study of the Bible. The subsequent history of the Catholic church was along the general line of his ideas. The recent so-called higher criticism, though not at all traceable to him, illustrates his spirit.



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BENEFICE-HUNTING

PAMPHAGUS COCLES

Pamphagus. Either my sight fails me, or this is my old pot-companion, Cocles.

Cocles. No, no, your eyes don't deceive you at all; you see a companion that is yours heartily.

Pa. Nobody ever thought to have seen you again, you have been gone so many years, and nobody knew what was become of you. But whence come you from? Prithee, tell me.

Co. From the antipodes.

Pa. Nay, but I believe you are come from the Fortunate Islands.

Co. I am glad you know your old companion. I was afraid I should come home as Ulysses did.

Pa. Why, pray? After what manner did he come home?

Co. His own wife did not know him; only his dog, being grown very old, acknowledged his master, by wagging his tail.

Pa. How many years was he from home?

Co. Twenty.

Pa. You have been absent more than twenty years, and yet I know your face again. But who tells that story of Ulysses?

Co. Homer.

Pa. He? They say he is the father of all fabulous stories. It may be his wife had gotten herself a gallant in the meantime, and therefore did not know her own Ulysses.

Co. No, nothing of that; she was one of the chastest women in the world. But Pallas had made Ulysses look old, that he might not be known.

Pa. How came he to be known at last?

Co. By a little wart that he had upon one of his toes. His nurse, who was not a very old woman, took notice of that as she was washing his feet.

Pa. A curious old hag. Well, then, do you wonder that I know you that has so remarkable a nose?

Co. I am not at all sorry for this nose.

Pa. No, nor have you any occasion to be sorry for having a thing that is fit for so many uses.

Co. For what uses?

Pa. First of all, it will serve instead of an extinguisher to put out candles.

Co. Go on.

Pa. Again, if you want to draw anything out of a deep pit, it will serve instead of an elephant's trunk.

Co. Oh! wonderful!

Pa. If your hands be employed, it will serve instead of a pin.

Co. Is it good for anything else?

Pa. If you have no bellows, it will serve to blow the fire.

Co. This is very pretty; have you any more of it?

Pa. If the light offends you when you are writing, it will serve for an umbrella.

Co. Ha, ha, ha! Have you anything more to say?

Pa. In a sea fight, it will serve for a grappling-hook.

Co. What will it serve for in a land fight?

Pa. Instead of a shield.

Co. And what else?

Pa. It will serve for a wedge to cleave wood withal.

Co. Well said.

Pa. If you act the part of a herald, it will be for a trumpet; if you sound an alarm, a horn; if you dig, a spade; if you reap, a sickle; if you go to sea, an anchor; in the kitchen it will serve for a flesh-hook; and in fishing, a fish-hook.

Co. I am a happy fellow, indeed. I did not know I carried about me a piece of household stuff that would serve for so many uses. But in the meantime, in what corner of the earth have you hid yourself all this while?

Pa. In Rome.

Co. But is it possible that in so public a place nobody should know you were alive?

Pa. Good men are nowhere in the world so much *incognito* as there, so that in the brightest day you shall scarce see one in a thronged market.

Co. Well, but then you are come home laden with benefices.

Pa. Indeed, I hunted after them diligently, but I had no success; for the way of fishing there is according to the proverb, with a golden hook.

Co. That is a foolish way of fishing.

Pa. No matter for that, some folks find it a very good way.

Co. Are they not the greatest fools in nature that change gold for lead?

Pa. But don't you know that there are veins of gold in holy lead?

Co. What, then, are you come back nothing but a Pamphagus?

Pa. No.

Co. What then, pray?

Pa. A ravenous wolf.

Co. But they make a better voyage of it and return laden with budgets full of benefices. Why had you rather have a benefice than a wife?

Pa. Because I love to live at ease. I love to live a pleasant life.

Co. But in my opinion they live the most pleasant life that have at home a pretty girl, that they may embrace as often as they have a mind to it.

Pa. And you may add this to it, sometimes when they have no mind to it. I love a continual pleasure; he that marries a wife is happy for a month, but he that gets a fat benefice lives merrily all his life.

Co. But solitude is so melancholy a life, that Adam in Paradise could not have lived happily unless God had given him an Eve.

Pa. He will never need to want an Eve that has gotten a good benefice.

Co. But that pleasure cannot really be called pleasure that carries an ill name and bad conscience with it.

Pa. You say true, and therefore I design to divert the tediousness of solitude by a conversation with books.

Co. They are the pleasantest companions in the world. But do you intend to return to your fishing again?

Pa. Yes, I would if I could get a fresh bait.

Co. Would you have a golden one or a silver one?

Pa. Either of them.

Co. Be of good cheer, your father will supply you.

Pa. He will part with nothing; and especially he will not trust me again, when he comes to understand I have spent what I had to no purpose.

Co. That is the chance of the dice.

Pa. But he don't like those dice.

Co. If he shall absolutely deny you, I will show you where you may have as much as you please.

Pa. You tell me good news, indeed! come shew it to me; my heart leaps with joy.

Co. It is here hard by.

Pa. Why, have you gotten a treasure?

Co. If I had I would have it for myself, not for you.

Pa. If I could but get together one hundred ducats I should be in hopes again.

Co. I will shew you where you may have one hundred thousand.

Pa. Prithee, put me out of my pain then, and do not teaze me to death. Tell me where I may have it.

Co. From the Asse Budæi; there you may find a great many ten thousands, whether you would have it gold or silver.

Pa. Go and be hanged with your banter; I will pay you what I owe you out of that bank.

Co. Ay, so you shall, but it shall be what I lend you out of it.

Pa. I know your waggish tricks well enough.

Co. I am not to be compared to you for that.

Pa. Nay, you are the veriest wag in nature; you are nothing but waggery; you make a jest of a serious matter; in this affair it is a far easier matter to tease me than to please me; the matter is of too great consequence to be made a jest of; if you were in my case you would not be so gamesome; you make a mere game of me; you game and banter me; you joke upon me in a thing that is not a joking matter.

Co. I don't jeer you, I speak what I think; indeed, I do not laugh, I speak my mind, I speak seriously, I speak from my heart, I speak sincerely, I speak the truth.

Pa. So may your cap stand always upon your head, as you speak sincerely. But do I stand loitering here, and make no haste home to see how all things go there?

Co. You will find a great many things new.

Pa. I believe I shall; but I wish I may find all things as I would have them.

Co. We may all wish so if we will, but never anybody found it so yet.

Pa. Our rambles will do us both this good, that we shall like home the better for time to come.

Co. I cannot tell that, for I have seen some that have played the same game over and over again; if once this infection seizes a person, he seldom gets rid of it.

THE PENITENT VIRGIN

EUBULUS, CATHERINE

Eubulus. I could always wish to have such a porter.

Catherine. And I to have such visitors.

Eu. But fare you well, Kitty.

Ca. What is the matter? Do you take leave before you salute?

Eu. I did not come hither to see you cry. What is the matter, that as soon as ever you see me the tears stand in your eyes?

Ca. Why in such haste? Stay a little; pray stay. I will put on my better looks, and we will be merry together.

Eu. What sort of cattle have we got here?

Ca. It is the patriarch of the college. Don't go away, they have had their dose of fuddle. Stay but a little while, and as soon as he is gone we will discourse as we use to do.

Eu. Well, I will be so good natured as to hearken to you, though you would not to me. Now we are alone you must tell me the whole story, I would fain have it from your mouth.

Ca. Now I have found by experience of all my friends, which I took to be very wise men too, that nobody gave more wise and grave advice than you that are the youngest of them all.

Eu. Tell me how did you get your parents' consent at last?

Ca. First, by the restless solicitations of the monks and nuns, and then by my own importunities and tears, my mother was at length brought over; but my father stood out stiffly still. But at last, being plied by several engines, he was prevailed upon to yield; but yet rather like one that was forced than that consented. The matter was concluded in their cups, and they preached damnation to him if he refused to let Christ have his spouse.

Eu. Oh, the villany of fools! But what then?

Ca. I was kept close at home for three days; but in the meantime there were always with me some women of the college that they call convertites, mightily encouraging me to persist in my holy resolution, and watching me narrowly, lest any of my friends or kindred should come at me and make me alter my mind. In the meanwhile my habit was making ready and the provision for the feast.

Eu. How did you find yourself? Did not your mind misgive you yet?

Ca. No, not at all; and yet I was so horridly frightened that I had rather die ten times over than suffer the same again.

Eu. What was that, pray?

Ca. It is not to be uttered.

Eu. Come, tell me freely, you know I am your friend.

Ca. Will you keep counsel?

Eu. I should do that without promising, and I hope you know me better than to doubt it.

Ca. I had a most dreadful apparition.

Eu. Perhaps it was your evil genius that pushed you on to this.

Ca. I am fully persuaded it was an evil spirit.

Eu. Tell me what shape it was in? Was it such as we used to paint with a crooked beak, long horns, harpies' claws, and swinging tail?

Ca. You make a game of it, but I had rather sink into the earth than see such another.

Eu. And were your women solicitresses with you then?

Ca. No, nor I would not so much as open my lips of it to them, though they sifted me most particularly about it when they found me almost dead with the surprise.

Eu. Shall I tell you what it was?

Ca. Do, if you can.

Eu. Those women had certainly bewitched you, or conjured your brain out of your head rather. But did you persist in your resolution still for all this.

Ca. Yes, for they told me that many were thus troubled upon their first consecrating themselves to Christ; but if they got the better of the devil that bout, he would let them alone for ever after.

Eu. Well, what pomp were you carried out with?

Ca. They put on all my finery, let down my hair, and dressed me just as if it had been for my wedding.

Eu. To a fat monk, perhaps; hem! a mischief take this cough.

Ca. I was carried from my father's house to the college by broad day-light, and a world of people staring at me.

Eu. Oh, these scaramouches, how they know to wheedle the poor people! How many days did you continue in that holy college of virgins, forsooth?

Ca. Till part of the twelfth day.

Eu. But what was it that changed your mind, that had been so resolutely bent upon it?

Ca. I must not tell you what it was, but it was something very considerable. When I had been there six days I sent for my mother. I begged of her and besought her, as she loved my life, to get me out of the college again. She would not hear of it, but bade me hold to my resolution. Upon that I sent for my father; but he chid me too, telling me that I had made him master his affections, and that now he would make me master mine, and not disgrace him by starting from my purpose. At last, when I saw that I could do no good with them this way, I told my father and mother both that, to please them, I would submit to die, and that would certainly be my fate if they did not take me out, and that very quickly too; and upon this they took me home.

Eu. It was very well that you recanted before you had professed yourself for good and all. But still, I do not hear what it was changed your mind so suddenly.

Ca. I never told any mortal yet, nor shall.

Eu. What if I should guess?

Ca. I am sure you cannot guess it; and if you do, I will not tell you.

Eu. Well, for all that, I guess what it was. But in the meantime, you have been at a great charge.

Ca. Above 400 crowns.

Eu. Oh, these guttling nupitals! Well, but I am glad, though that money is gone, that you are safe. For the time to come, hearken to good counsel when it is given you.

Ca. So I will. The burnt child dreads the fire.

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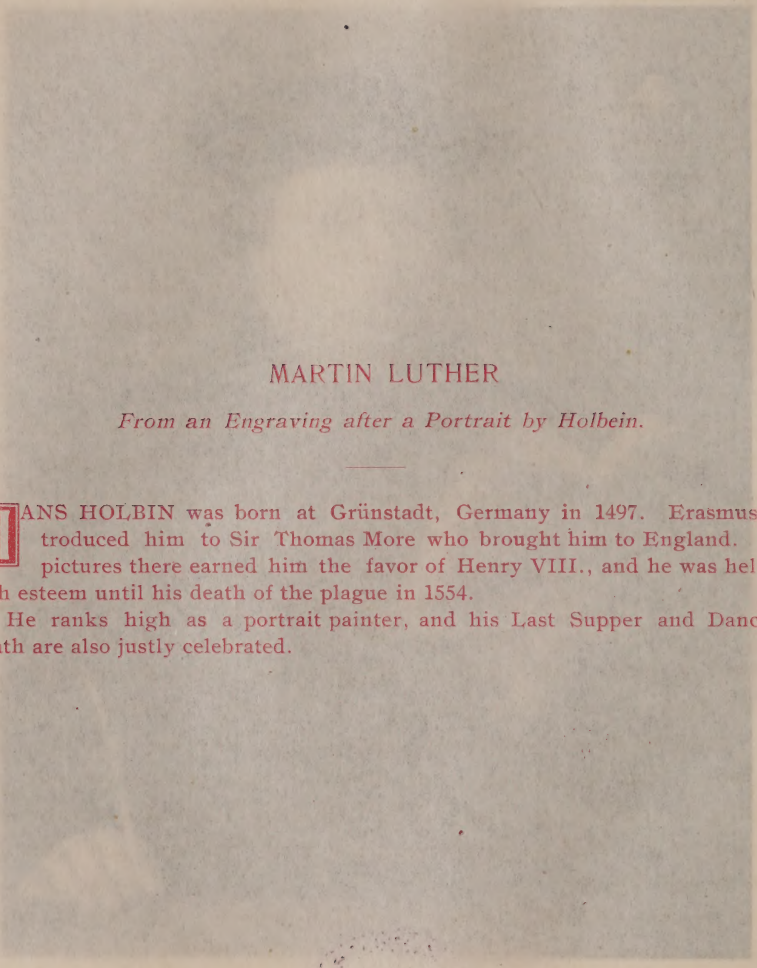
MARTIN LUTHER

MARTIN LUTHER was born in Thuringia November 10, 1483. His father had a forge at Mansfeld and managed to send him first to the Latin school of that town, and later to other schools near by. As did other poor students he often sang for alms in the streets. He took his bachelor's degree at Erfurt in 1502 and his master's in 1505. In 1505 he entered the Augustinian convent at Erfurt but his penances and self mortification brought him no peace. He was ordained priest in 1507 and made a professor at Wittenberg in 1508. Here he was very popular.

In 1511 he went to Rome. He found there unspeakable vice and abuses and returned with respect for the organization of the papacy greatly weakened. He was made a doctor of divinity when he again took up his professorship and was a popular teacher. He

money and sent agents throughout Germany to sell indulgences. It was the belief of the Catholic church that the pope has power to forgive sins against the church, and that his intercession has weight as regards sins against God. Tetzel, the pope's agent for Saxony, seems to have sold indulgences or forgiveness for all kinds of sins. Luther, who had come to believe that forgiveness comes through inner repentance and faith, thundered against Tetzel and nailed his ninety-five theses against the Castle church. The press spread them over Germany and the Reformation had begun.

From this time on his life is part of the Reformation. His position forced him to attack the supremacy of the papacy, and in 1520 Leo issued a bull against him, which he publicly burned. The next year at the Diet of Worms he refused to recant and the German princes stood by him. He was kept in retirement by his friends and translated the Bible into German during this period. He came out against the extremists of his own party, and against the peasants in their revolt. He believed that his ideas rather than those of Rome were right, but he did not believe in absolute freedom of worship. He died in the midst of the struggle, but the great flood of the movement he had started swept on.



MARTIN LUTHER

From an Engraving after a Portrait by Holbein.

HANS HOLBIN was born at Grünstadt, Germany in 1497. Erasmus introduced him to Sir Thomas More who brought him to England. His pictures there earned him the favor of Henry VIII., and he was held in high esteem until his death of the plague in 1554.

He ranks high as a portrait painter, and his Last Supper and Dance of Death are also justly celebrated.

MARTIN LUTHER

MARTIN LUTHER was born in Thuringia November 10, 1483. His father had a forge at Mansfeld and managed to send him first to the Latin school of the town, and later to other schools near by. As did other poor students he often sang for alms in the streets. He took his bachelor's degree at Erfurt in 1502 and his master's in 1505. In 1505 he entered the Augustinian convent at Erfurt but his penances and self mortification brought him no peace. He was ordained priest in 1507 and made a professor at Wittenberg in 1508. Here he was very popular.

In 1511 he went to Rome. He found there unquestionable vices and abuses and returned with respect for the organization of the papacy greatly weakened. He was made a doctor of divinity when he again took up his professorship and was more popular than ever.

In 1517 the new pope, Leo X, found himself much in need of money and sent agents throughout Germany to sell indulgences. It is the belief of the Catholic church that the pope has power to forgive sins against the church, and that his intercession has weight as regards sins against God. Tetzel, the pope's agent for Saxony, seems to have sold indulgences or forgiveness for all kinds of sins. Luther, who had come to believe that forgiveness comes through inner repentance and faith, thundered against Tetzel and nailed his ninety-five theses against the Castle church. The press spread them over Germany and the Reformation had begun.

From this time his life is part of the Reformation. His position forced him to attack the supremacy of the papacy, and in 1520 Leo issued a bull against him, which he publicly burned. The next year at the Diet of Worms he refused to recant and the German princes stood by him. He was kept in retirement by his friends and translated the Bible into German during this period. He came out against the extremists of his own party, and against the peasants in their revolt. He believed that his ideas rather than those of Rome were right, but he did not believe in absolute freedom of worship. He died in the midst of the struggle, but the great flood of the movement he had started swept on.

NINETY-FIVE THESES

In the desire and with the purpose of eludicating the truth, a disputation will be held on the underwritten propositions at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Monk of the Order of St. Augustine, Master of Arts and Sacred Theology, and ordinary Reader of the same in that place. He therefore asks those who cannot be present to discuss the subject with us orally, to do so by letter in their absence. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying "Repent ye," etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence.

2. This word cannot be understood of sacramental penance, (that is, of the confession and satisfaction which are performed under the ministry of priests.)

3. It does not, however, refer solely to inward penitence; nay, such inward penitence is naught, unless it outwardly produces various mortifications of the flesh.

4. The penalty thus continues as long as the hatred of self (that is, true inward penitence); namely, till our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5. The pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties, except those which he has imposed by his own authority, or by that of the canons.

6. The pope has no power to remit any guilt, except by declaring and warranting it to have been remitted by God; or at most by remitting cases reserved for himself; in which cases, if his power were despised, guilt would certainly remain.

7. Certainly God remits no man's guilt, without at the same time subjecting him, humbled in all things, to the authority of his representative the priest.

8. The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and no burden ought to be imposed on the dying, according to them.

9. Hence, the Holy Spirit acting in the pope does well for us, in that, in his decrees, he always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.

10. Those priests act unlearnedly and wrongly, who, in the case of

the dying, reserve the canonical penances for purgatory.

11. Those tares about changing of the canonical penalty into the penalty of purgatory seem surely to have been sown while the bishops were asleep.

12. Formerly the canonical penalties were imposed not after, but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.

13. The dying pay all penalties by death, and are already dead to the canon laws, and are by right relieved from them.

14. The imperfect vigor or love of a dying person necessarily brings with it great fear, and the less it is, the greater the fear it brings.

15. This fear and horror is sufficient by itself, to say nothing of other things, to constitute the pains of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.

16. Hell, purgatory, and heaven appear to differ as despair, almost despair, and peace of mind differ.

17. With souls in purgatory it seems that it must needs be that, as horror diminishes, so love increases.

18. Nor does it seem to be proved by any reasoning or any Scriptures, that they are outside the state of merit or of the increase of love.

19. Nor does this appear to be proved, that they are sure and confident of their own blessedness, at least all of them, though we may be very sure of it.

20. Therefore the pope, when he speaks of the plenary remission of all penalties, does not mean really of all, but only of those imposed by himself.

21. Thus those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that, by the indulgences of the pope, a man is loosed and saved from all punishment.

22. For in fact he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which they would have had to pay in this life acocrding to the canons.

23. If any entire remission of all penalties can be granted to any one, it is certain that it is granted to none but the most perfect, that is to very few.

24. Hence, the greater part of the people must needs be deceived by this indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of release from penalties.

25. Such power as the pope has over purgatory in general, such

has every bishop in his own diocese, and every curate in his own parish, in particular.

26. The pope acts most rightly in granting remission to souls, not by the power of the keys (which is of no avail in this case) but by the way of intercession.

27. They preach man, who say that the soul flies out of purgatory as soon as the money thrown into the chest rattles.

28. It is certain that when the money rattles in the chest, avarice and gain may be increased, but the effect of the intercession of the Church depends on the will of God alone.

29. Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory desire to be redeemed from it, according to the story told of Saint Severinus and Paschal.

30. No man is sure of the reality of his own contrition, much less of the attainment of plenary remission.

31. Rare is a true penitent, so rare is one who truly buys indulgences—that is to say, most rare.

32. Those who believe that, through letters of pardon, they are made sure of their own salvation, will eternally be damned along with their teachers.

33. We must especially beware of those who say that these pardons from the pope are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to God.

34. For the grace conveyed by these pardons has respect only to the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, which are of human appointment.

35. They preach no Christian doctrine, who teach that contrition is not necessary for those who buy souls out of purgatory or buy confessional licenses.

36. Every Christian who feels true compunction has of right plenary remission of punishment and guilt even without letters of pardon.

37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ and of the Church, given him by God, even without letters of pardon.

38. The remission, however, imparted by the pope is by no means to be despised, since it is, as I have said, a declaration of the Divine remission.

39. It is a most difficult thing, even for the most learned theolo-

gians, to exalt at the same time in the eyes of the people the ample effect of pardons and necessity of true contrition.

40. The contrition seeks and loves punishment; while the ampleness of pardon relaxes it, and causes men to hate it, or at least gives occasion for them to do so.

41. Apostolical pardons ought to be proclaimed with caution, lest the people should falsely suppose that they are placed before other good works of charity.

42. Christians should be taught that it is not the wish of the pope that the buying of pardons is to be in any way compared to works of mercy.

43. Christians should be taught that he who gives to a poor man, or lends to a needy man, does better than if he bought pardons.

44. Because by a work of charity, charity increases, and the man becomes better; while by means of pardons, he does not become better, but only freer from punishment.

45. Christians should be taught that he who sees any one in need, and, passing by him, gives money for pardons, is not purchasing for himself the indulgences of the pope, but the anger of God.

46. Christians should be taught that, unless they have superfluous wealth, they are bound to keep what is necessary for the use of their own households, and by no means to lavish it on pardons.

47. Christians should be taught that, while they are free to buy pardons, they are not commanded to do so.

48. Christians should be taught that the pope, in granting pardons, has both more need and more desire that devout prayer should be made for him, than that money should be readily paid.

49. Christians should be taught that the pope's pardons are useful, if they do not put their trust in them, but most hurtful, if through them they lose the fear of God.

50. Christians should be taught that, if the pope were acquainted with the exactions of the preachers of pardons, he would prefer that the Basilica of St. Peter should be burnt to ashes, than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep.

51. Christians shauld be taught that, as it would be the duty, so it would be the wish of the pope even to sell, if necessary, the Basilica of St. Peter, and to give of his own money to the very many of those from whom the preachers of pardons exact money.

52. Vain is the hope of salvation through letters of pardon, even

if a commissary—nay, the pope himself—were to pledge his own soul for them.

53. They are enemies of Christ and of the pope, who, in order that pardons may be preached, condemn the Word of God to utter silence in other churches.

54. Wrong is done to the Word of God when, in the same sermon, an equal or longer time is spent on pardons than on it.

55. The mind of the pope is necessarily that, if pardons, which are a very small matter, are celebrated with single bells, single processions, and single ceremonies, the Gospel, which is a very great matter, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred processions, and a hundred ceremonies.

56. The treasures of the Church, whence the pope grants indulgences, are neither sufficiently named nor known among the people of Christ.

57. It is clear that they are at least not temporal treasures, for these are not so readily lavished, but only accumulated, by many of the preachers.

58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and of the saints, for these, independently of the pope, are always working grace to the inner man, and the cross, death and hell, to the outer man.

59. St. Lawrence said that the treasures of the Church are the poor of the Church, but he spoke according to the use of the word in his time.

60. We are not speaking rashly when we say that the keys of the Church, bestowed through the merits of Christ, are that treasure.

61. For it is clear that the power of the pope is sufficient of itself for the remission of penalties and of reserved cases.

62. The true treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

63. This treasure, however, is deservedly most hateful, because it makes the first to be last.

64. While the treasure of indulgences is deservedly most acceptable, because it makes the last to be first.

65. Hence the treasures of the Gospel are nets, wherewith of old they fished for the men of riches.

66. The treasures of indulgences are nets, wherewith they now fish for the riches of men.

67. These indulgences, which the preachers loudly proclaim to be

the greatest graces, are seen to be truly such as regards the promotion of gain.

68. Yet are they in reality in no degree to be compared to the grace of God and the piety of the cross.

69. Bishops and curates are bound to receive the commissaries of apostolical pardons with all reverence.

70. But they are still more bound to see it with all their eyes, and take heed with all their ears, that these men do not preach their own dreams in place of the pope's commission.

71. He who speaks against the truth of apostolical pardons, let him be anathematized and accursed.

72. But he, on the other hand, who exerts himself against the wantonness and license of speech of the preachers of pardons, let him be blessed.

73. As the pope justly thunders against those who use any kind of contrivance to the injury of the traffic in pardons.

74. Much more is it his intention to thunder against those who, under the pretext of pardons, use contrivances to the injury of holy charity and of truth.

75. To think that papal pardons have such power that they could absolve a man even if—by an impossibility—he had violated the Mother of God, is madness.

76. We affirm on the contrary that papal pardons cannot take away even the least of venial sins, as regards guilt.

77. The saying that, even if St. Peter were now pope, he could grant no greater graces, is blasphemy against St. Peter and the pope.

78. We affirm on the contrary that both he and any other pope has greater graces to grant, namely, the Gospel, powers, gifts of healing, etc. (1 Cor. xii. 9.)

79. To say that the cross set up among the insignia of the papal arms is of equal power with the cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

80. Those bishops, curates and theologians, who allow such discourses to have currency among the people, will have to render an account.

81. This license in the preaching of pardons makes it no easy thing, even for learned men, to protect the reverence due to the pope against the calumnies, or, at all events, the keen questionings of the laity.

82. As for instance: Why does not the pope empty purgatory

for the sake of the most holy charity of the supreme necessity of souls —this being the most just of all reasons—if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of that most fatal thing, money, to be spent on building a basilica—this being a very slight reason?

83. Again; why do funeral masses and anniversary masses for the deceased continue, and why does not the pope return, or permit the withdrawal of the funds bequeathed for this purpose, since it is a wrong to pray for those who are already redeemed?

84. Again; what is this new kindness of God and the pope, in that, for money's sake, they permit an impious man and an enemy of God to redeem a pious soul which loves God, and yet do not redeem the same pious and beloved soul out of free charity, on account of its own need?

85. Again; why is it that the penitential canons, long since abrogated and dead in themselves in very fact and not only by usage, are yet still redeemed with money, through the granting of indulgences, as if they were full of life?

86. Again; why does not the pope, whose riches are at this day more ample than those of the wealthiest of the wealthy, build the one Basilica of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with that of poor believers?

87. Again; what does the pope remit or impart to those, who through perfect contrition, have a right to plenary remission and participation?

88. Again; what greater good could the Church receive than if the pope, instead of once, as he does now, were to bestow these remissions and participations a hundred times a day on any one of the faithful?

89. Since it is the salvation of souls, rather than money, that the pope seeks by his pardons, why does he suspend the letters and pardons granted long ago, since they are equally efficacious?

90. To repress these scruples and arguments of the laity by force alone, and not to solve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christian men unhappy.

91. If then pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the pope, all these questions would be resolved with ease; any, would not exist.

92. Away then with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ: "Peace, peace," and there is no peace.

93. Blessed be all those prophets who say to the people of Christ: "The cross, the cross," and there is no cross.

94. Christians should be exhorted to strive to follow Christ their head through pains, deaths, and hells.

95. And thus trust to enter heaven through many tribulations, rather than in the security of peace.

M D XVII.

AGAINST CATHOLICISM

The chief cause that I fell out with the pope was this: the pope boasted that he was the head of the church, and condemned all that would not be under his power and authority; for he said, although Christ be the head of the church, yet, notwithstanding, there must be a corporal head of the church upon earth. With this I could have been content, had he but taught the gospel pure and clear, and not introduced human inventions and lies in its stead. Further, he took upon him power, rule, and authority over the Christian church, and over the Holy Scriptures, the Word of God; no man must presume to expound the Scriptures, but only he, and according to his ridiculous conceits; so that he made himself lord over the church, proclaiming her at the same time a powerful mother, and empress over the Scriptures, to which we must yield and be obedient; this was not to be endured. They who, against God's Word, boast of the church's authority, are mere idiots. The pope attributes more power to the church, which is begotten and born, than to the Word, which has begotten, conceived, and born the church.

We, through God's grace, are not heretics, but schismatics, causing, indeed, separation and division, wherein we are not to blame, but our adversaries, who gave occasion thereto, because they remain not by God's Word alone, which we have, hear, and follow.

When our Lord God intends to plague and punish one, He leaves him in blindness, so that he regards not God's Word, but condemns the same, as the papists now do. They know that our doctrine is God's Word, but they will not allow of this syllogism and conclusion: When God speaks, we must hear him; now God speaks through the doctrine of the gospel; therefore we must hear Him. But the papists, against their own consciences, say, No; we must hear the church.

It is very strange: they admit propositions, but will not allow of

the consequences, or permit the conclusions to be right. They urge some decree or other of the Council of Constance, and say, though Christ speak, who is the truth itself, yet an ancient custom must be preferred, and observed for law. Thus do they answer, when they seek to wrest and pervert the truth.

If this sin of antichrist be not a sin against the Holy Ghost, then I do not know how to define and distinguish sins. They sin herein wilfully against the revealed truth of God's Word, in a most stubborn and stiff-necked manner. I pray, who would not, in this case, resist these devilish and shameless lying lips? I marvel not John Huss died so joyfully, seeing he heard of such abominable impieties and wickednesses of the papists. I pray, how holds the pope concerning the church? He preserves her, but only in an external luster, pomp, and succession. But we judge her according to her essence, as she is in herself, in her own substance, that is, according to God's Word and sacraments. The pope is reserved for God's judgment, therefore only by God's judgment he shall be destroyed. Henry VIII., king of England, is now also an enemy to the pope's person, but not to his essence and substance; he would only kill the body of the pope, but suffer his soul, that is, his false doctrine, to live; the pope can well endure such an enemy; he hopes within the space of twenty years to recover his rule and government again. But I fall upon the pope's soul, his doctrine, with God's word, not regarding his body, that is, his wicked person and life. I not only pluck out his feathers, as the king of England and prince George of Saxony do, but I set the knife to his throat, and cut his windpipe asunder. We put the goose on the spit; did we but pluck her, the feathers would soon grow again. Therefore is Satan so bitter an enemy unto us, because we cut the pope's throat, as does also the king of Denmark, who aims at the essence of popery.

'Tis wonderful how, in this our time, the majesty of the pope is fallen. Heretofore, all monarchs, emperors, kings, and princes feared the pope's power, who held them all at his nod; none durst so much as mutter a word against him. This great god is now fallen; his own creatures, the friars and monks, are his enemies, who, if they still continue with him, do so for the sake of gain; otherwise they would oppose him more fiercely than we do.

The pope's crown is named *regnum mundi,* the kingdom of the world. I have heard it credibly reported at Rome, that this crown is worth more than all the princedoms of Germany. God placed popedom in Italy not without cause, for the Italians can make out many

things to be real and true, which in truth are not so: they have crafty and subtle brains.

If the pope were the head of the Christian church, then the church were a monster with two heads, seeing that St. Paul says that Christ is her head. The pope may well be, and is, the head of the false church.

Where the linnet is, there is also the cuckoo, for he thinks his song a thousand times better than the linnet's. Even thus, the pope places himself in the church, and so that his song may be heard, overcrows the church. The cuckoo is good for something, in that its appearance gives tidings that summer is at hand; so the pope serves to show us that the last day of judgment approaches.

There are many that think I am too fierce against popedom; on the contrary, I complain that I am, alas! too mild; I wish I could breathe out lightning against pope and popedom, and that every word were a thunderbolt.

'Tis an idle dream the papists entertain of antichrist; they suppose he should be a single person, that should govern, scatter money amongst them, do miracles, carry a fiery oven about him, and kill the saints.

In popedom they make priests, not to preach and teach God's Word, but only to celebrate mass, and to gad about with the sacrament. For, when a bishop ordains a man, he says: Take unto thee power to celebrate mass, and to offer for the living and the dead. But we ordain priests according to the command of Christ and St. Paul, namely, to preach the pure gospel and God's Word. The papists in their ordinations make no mention of preaching and teaching God's Word, therefore their consecrating and ordaining is false and unright, for all worshipping which is not ordained of God, or erected by God's Word and command, is nothing worth, yea, mere idolatry.

Next unto my just cause the small repute and mean aspect of my person gave the blow to the pope. For when I began to preach and write, the pope scorned and contemned me; he thought: 'Tis but one poor friar; what can he do against me? I have maintained and defended this doctrine in popedom, against many emperors, kings, and princes, what then shall this one man do? If he had condescended to regard me, he might easily have suppressed me in the beginning.

A German, making his confession to a priest at Rome, promised, on oath, to keep secret whatsoever the priest should impart unto him, until he reached home; whereupon the priest gave him a leg of the ass on which Christ rode into Jerusalem, very neatly bound up in silk, and said: This is the holy relic on which the Lord Christ corporally

did sit, with his sacred legs touching this ass's leg. Then was the German wondrous glad, and carried the said holy relic with him into Germany. When he got to the borders, he bragged of his holy relic in the presence of four others, his comrades, when, lo! it turned out that each of them had likewise received from the same priest a leg, after promising the same secrecy. Thereupon, all exclaimed, with great wonder: Lord! had that ass five legs?

A picture being brought to Luther, in which the pope, with Judas the traitor, were represented hanging on the purse and keys, he said: 'Twill vex the pope horribly, that he, whom emperors and kings have worshipped, should now be figured hanging on his false pick-locks. It will also grieve the papists, for their consciences will be touched. The purse accords well with the cardinal's hats and their incomes, for the pope's covetousness has been so gross, that in all kingdoms he has not only raked to himself Annates, Pallium-money, &c., but has also sold for money the holy sacrament, indulgences, fraternities, Christ's blood, matrimony, etc. Therefore, his purse is filled with robberies, upon which justly ought to be exclaimed, as in the Revelations; "Recompense them as they have done to you, and make it double unto them, according to their works." Therefore, seeing the pope has damned me and given me over to the devil, so will I, in requital, hang him on his own keys.

It is abominable that in so many of the pope's decrees, there is not one single sentence of Holy Scripture, or one article of the Catechism mentioned. The pope intending to conduct the government of his church in an external way, his teachings were blasphemous; such as that a stinking friar's hood, put upon a dead body, procured remission of sins, and was of equal value with the merits of our blessed Savior Christ Jesus.

It is no marvel that the papists hate me so vehemently, for I have well deserved it at their hands. Christ more mildly reproved the Jews than I the papists, yet they killed him. These, therefore, think they justly persecute me, but, according to God's laws and will, they shall find their mistake. In the day of the last judgment I will denounce the pope and his tyrants, who scorn and assail the Word of God, and his sacraments. The pope destroys poor married priests, that receive and observe God's Word and statutes, whereas by all their laws they are only to be displaced from their office. So Prince George has banished and driven away from Oschitz ten citizens and house-

holders, with twenty-seven children, martyrs to the Word. Their sighs will rise up to heaven against him.

The pope and his crew can in nowise endure the idea of reformation; the mere word creates more alarm at Rome, than thunderbolts from heaven, or the day of judgment. A cardinal said, the other day: Let them eat, and drink, and do what they will; but as to reforming us, we think that is a vain idea; we will not endure it. Neither will we protestants be satisfied, though they administer the sacrament in both kinds, and permit priests to marry; we will also have doctrine of the faith pure and unfalsified, and the righteousness that justifies and saves before God, and which expels and drives away all idolatry and false-worshipping; these gone and banished, the foundation on which popedom is built falls also.

We will have the holy sacrament administered in both kinds, that it shall be free for priests to marry, or to forbear, and we will in no way suffer ourselves to be bereaved of the article of justification: "That by faith only in Jesus Christ we are justified and saved before God; without any works, merits and deserts, merely by grace and mercy." This we must keep and preserve, pure and unfalsified, if we intend to be saved. As to private mass, we cannot hinder it, but must leave it to God, to be acted by those over whom we have neither power nor command; yet, nevertheless, we will openly teach and preach against it, and show that it is abominable blasphemy and idolatry. Either we must go together by the ears, or else they, in our countries, must yield unto us in this particular; if it come to pass that herein they yield unto us, then must we be contented; for, like as the Christians dealt with the Arians, and as St. Paul was constrained to carry himself towards the Jews, even so must we also leave the papists to their own consciences, and seeing they will not follow us, so we neither can nor will force them, but must let them go and commit it to God's judgment; and truly, sincerely, and diligently hold unto and maintain our doctrine, let the same vex, anger, and displease whom it will.

The papists see they have an ill cause, and, therefore, labor to maintain it with very poor arguments, that can not endure the proof, and may be easily confuted.

They say: "The praising of anything is an invocation; the saints are to be praised, therefore they are to be invoked." I answer: No, in nowise; for every praising is not invoking: married people are to be praised, but not to be invoked; for invocation belongs only to God,

and not to any creature, either in heaven or on earth; no, not to any angel. They say:

"The doctrine of the remission of sins is necessary: indulgences, pardons, and graces are remissions of sins; therefore they are necessary." No: the pope's pardons are not remissions of sins, but satisfactions of sins, but satisfactions for remitting the punishments: mere fables and fictions.

When I was in Rome, a disputation was only held, at which were present thirty learned doctors besides myself, against the pope's power; he boasting, that with his right hand he commands the angels in heaven, and with his left draws souls out of purgatory, and that his person is mingled with the godhead. Calixtus disputed against these assertions, and showed that it was only on earth that power was given to the pope to bind and to loose. The other doctors hereupon assailed him with exceeding vehemence, and Calixtus discontinued his arguments, saying, he had only spoken by way of disputation, and that his real opinions were far otherwise.

For the space of many hundreds years there has not been a single bishop that has shown any zeal on the subject of schools, baptism, and preaching; 'twould have been too great trouble for them, such enemies were they to God. I have heard divers worthy doctors affirm, that the church has long since stood in need of reformation; but no man was so bold as to assail popedom; for the pope had on his banner, *Noli me tangere;* therefore every man was silent. Dr. Staupitz said once to me: "If you meddle with popedom, you will have the whole world against you;" and he added—"yet the church is built on blood, and with blood must be sprinkled."

I would have all those who intend to preach the gospel, diligently read the popish abominations, their decrees and books; and, above all things, thoroughly consider the horrors of the mass—on account of which idol God might justly have drowned and destroyed the whole earth—to the end their consciences may be armed and confirmed against their adversaries.

The fasting of the friars is more easy to them than our eating to us. For one day of fasting there are three of feasting. Every friar for his supper has two quarts of beer, a quart of wine, and spice-cakes, or bread prepared with spice and salt, the better to relish their drink. Thus go on these poor fasting brethren; getting so pale and wan, they are like the fiery angels.

If the emperor would merit immortal praise, he would utterly root

out the order of the Capuchins, and, for an everlasting remembrance of their abominations, cause their books to remain in safe custody. 'Tis the worst and most poisonous sect. The Augustine and Bernardine friars are no way comparable with these confounded lice.

Francis was an Italian, born in the city of Assisi, doubtless an honest and just man. He little thought that such superstition and unbelief would proceed out of his life. There have been so many of those grey friars, that they offered to send forty thousand of their number against the Turks, and yet leave their monasteries sufficiently provided for.

The Franciscan and grey friars came up under the emperor Frederick II., at the time St. Elizabeth was canonized, in the year 1207. Francis worked his game eighteen years; two years under the emperor Philip, four years under the emperor Otho, and twelve years under the emperor Frederick II. They feign, that after his death he appeared to the pope in a dream, held a cup in his hand, and filled the same with blood that ran out of his side. Is not this, think ye, a fine and proper piece of government, that began with dreams and with lies? The pope is not God's image, but his ape. He will be both God and emperor; as pope Innocent III. said: I will either take the crown from the emperor Philip, or he shall take mine from me. Oh, such histories ought diligently to be written, to the end posterity may know upon what grounds popedom was erected and founded; namely, upon mere lies and fables. If I were younger, I would write a chronicle of the popes.

If the pope should seek to suppress the mendicant friars, he would find fine sport; he has made them fat, and cherished them in his bosom, and assigned them the greatest and most powerful princes for protectors. If he should attempt to abolish them, they would all combine and instigate the princes against him, for many kings and princes, and the emperor himself, have friars for confessors. The friars were the pope's columns, they carried him as the rats carry their king; I was our Lord God's quicksilver, which he threw into the fishpond; that is, which he cast among the friars.

A friar is evil every way, whether in the monastery or out of it. For as Aristotle gives an example touching fire, that burns whether it be in Ethiopia or in Germany, even so is it likewise with the friars. Nature is not changed by any circumstances of time or place.

In Italy was a particular order of friars, called *Fratres Ignorantiae*, that is, Brethren of Ignorance, who took a solemn oath, that they would neither know, learn, nor understand anything at all, but answer all

questions with *Nescio.* Truly, all friars are well worthy of this title, for they only read and babble out the words, but regard not their meaning. The pope and cardinals think: should these brethren study and be learned, they would master us. Therefore, *saccum per neccum,* that is, hang a bag about their necks, and send them a-begging through cities, towns and countries.

An honest matron here in Wittenberg, widow of the consul Horndorff, complained of the covetousness of the Capuchins, one of whom pressed her father, upon his deathbed, to bequeath something to their monastery, and got from him four hundred florins, for the use of the monastery, the friar constraining herself to make a vow, that she would mention the matter to no person. The man kept the money, which course he usually took, to the great hurt of all the children and orphans in that city. At last, by command of the magistrate, she told how the friar had acted. Many such examples have been, yet no creature dared complain. There was no end of the robbing, filching, and stealing, of those insatiable, money-diseased wretches.

When I was in the monastery at Erfurt, a preaching friar and a bare-foot friar wandered into the country to beg for the brethren, and to gather alms. These two played upon each other in their sermons. The bare-foot friar preaching first, said: "Loving country people, and good friends! take heed of that bird the swallow, for it is white within, but upon the back it is black; it is an evil bird, always chirping, but profitable for nothing; and when angered, is altogether mad," hereby describing the preaching friar, who wear on the outside black coats, and inside white linen. Now, in the afternoon, the preaching friar came into the pulpit and played upon the bare-foot friar: "Indeed, loving friends, I neither may nor can well defend the swallow; but the grey sparrow is far a worse and more hurtful bird than the swallow; for it bites the kine, and when it fouls into people's eyes, makes them blind, as ye may see in the book of Tobit. He robs, steals, and devours all he can get, as oats, barley, wheat, rye, apples, pears, peas, cherries, &c. Moreover, he is a lascivious bird: his greatest art is to cry: 'Scrip, scrip,'" etc. The bare-foot friar might in better colors have painted the preaching friars, for they are proud buzzards and right epicureans; while the bare-foot friars, under color of sanctity and humility, are more proud and haughty than kings or princes, and, most of all, have imagined and devised monstrous lies.

St. Bernard was the best monk that ever was, whom I love beyond all the rest put together; yet he dared to say, it were a sign of damna-

tion if a man quitted his monastery. He had under him three thousand monks, not one of whom was damned, if his opinion be true, *sed vix credo.* St. Bernard lived in dangerous times, under the emperors Henry IV. and V., Conrad and Lothaire. He was a learned and able monk, but he gave evil example. The friars, especially the Minorites and Franciscans, had easy days by their hypocrisy; they touched no money, yet they were vastly rich, and lived in luxury. The evil friar's life began betimes, when people, under color of piety, abandoned temporal matters. The vocation and condition of a true Christian, such as God ordained and founded it, consists in three hierarchies—domestic, temporal, and church government.

The state of celibacy is great hypocrisy and wickedness. Augustine, though he lived in a good and acceptable time, was deceived through the exaltation of nuns. And although he gave them leave to marry, yet he said they did wrong to marry, and sinned against God. Afterwards, when the time of wrath and blindness came, and the truth was hunted away, and lying got the upper hand, the generation of poor women was contemned, under the color of great holiness, but which, in truth, was mere hypocrisy. Christ with one sentence confutes all their arguments: God created them male and female.

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH

JOHN, Chap. VI. *From the 44th to the 51st verses, inclusive.*

44. No man can come to Me, except the Father, which has sent Me, draw him: and I will raise him up to the last day.

45. It is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man, therefore, that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto Me.

46. Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father.

47. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on Me hath everlasting life.

48. I am the bread of life.

49. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead.

50. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die.

51. I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread he shall live forever: and the bread that I

will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

The sole object of this text is, to teach the nature of Christian faith, and to stimulate us to exercise it: and, indeed, the general tenor of the Gospel of John, goes but little farther than to instruct us, how we must believe on the Lord Jesus Christ; and that such a faith as is grounded on the true promise of God made to Christ, will save us; as the text under consideration plainly declares. Those, therefore, who teach any other way or means to obtain righteousness, are here considered as ignorant of the true way. For whatsoever is the invention of men, can avail them nothing towards obtaining salvation. Although a man may exercise the duties of godliness, although his external works may appear holy before men, yet he will not be able to attain unto heaven, unless God, through his word, proffer him divine grace, and enlighten his understanding, that he may walk in the way of life.

Now the way of life, is the Lord Jesus Christ; and he that seeketh another way, as those most certainly do, who trust in their own works, erreth from the right and true way; for Paul saith, Gal. II. "If righteousness be by the law," (that is, by the works of the law,) "then Christ died without a cause." Therefore, I say, a man must be, as it were, bruised and broken by the Gospel; he must be humbled from the bottom of his heart; he must feel himself weak and frail, and wholly unable to do anything of himself. He must fall prostrate before God, and cry, Help me, O omniponent God, merciful Father, I am not able to help myself! Help, O Lord Christ, mine own help is nothing!

Christ, in Luke XX. 18, speaking of the chief corner stone, which was rejected of the builders, saith: "Whosoever shall fall upon that stone, shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." Now this stone is Christ; therefore, we must either fall upon Him through a sense of our own imbecility and weakness, and so be broken, or He will fall upon us in his righteous judgment, and we shall be crushed under the weight of our own sins.

Christ saith in the text, "No man can come to Me, except the Father which has sent Me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day." The conclusion therefore is, that he whom the Father draweth not, and who cometh not to the Son, shall surely perish; for He is the only name given unto us whereby we can be saved; and without Him there is no salvation: if he help not, our case is most miserable. Of Him Peter also speaketh in the Acts of the Apostles, Chapter IV. "This is the stone which was set at nought of your builders, which is

become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." Where then is the doctrine of those divines and schoolmen, who have taught, that by many works we must attain unto righteousness? How is the doctrine of that great master, Aristotle, confounded, who taught that reason instructeth men to do the best things, and is always ready to direct them in the right way! For this doctrine Christ doth here disprove; and doth positively assert, that unless the Father draw us to Him, we shall perish forever. Hence all men must confess their imbecility and slowness to good things; for if any man persuade himself that he is able to do any good work by his own strength, truly he accuseth Christ of falsehood; and with great arrogance, presumeth to come to heaven, although he is not drawn of the Father.

The word of God, wherever it is soundly preached, casteth down whatsoever things are high and great; it maketh mountains even with valley, and overthroweth all hills; as the prophet Esaias saith, "that all hearts hearing the word may despair of themselves, otherwise they cannot come unto Christ." The works of God are such, that while they kill, they make alive; while they condemn they save; as Hannah, the nother of Samuel, singeth of the Lord: "The Lord killeth and maketh alive; bringeth down to the grave, and setteth up again. The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich; bringeth low, and heaveth up on high."

Wherefore, if a man be so stricken of God in his heart, that he acknowledgeth himself such one as ought for his sins to be condemned, he surely is that very man whom God by his word has stricken, and by this stroke hath fastened upon him the bond of His divine grace, whereby He draweth him, that He may provide for his soul, and take care of him. At first, he could not find within himself no help nor support, neither did he desire any; but now he hath found the special consolation and promise of God, which is this: "He that asketh receiveth, he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it is opened."

By such a promise, man is more and more comforted in mind, and conceiveth a greater trust and confidence in God: for as soon as he heareth that this is the work of God alone, he desireth of Him, as at the hand of his merciful Father, that He will vouchsafe to draw him. He is also encouraged to lay hold on the promises of God, he trusteth in His word, and hereby he obtaineth a certain testimony, that he is one whom

God hath drawn: as John saith in his first Epistle, V. 10, "He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself."

He that is thus taught of God, he that hath this witness in himself, will find God no other than a helper, a comforter, and a Saviour. It therefore follows, that if we believe aright, God will ever be to us a comforter, and a giver of every good and perfect gift: He will require nothing of us, but will freely bestow upon us whatsoever things may be for our good; as He himself saith, in Psalms VIII., "I am the Lord thy God who brough thee out of the land of Egypt; open thy mouth wide and I will fill it." Who would not love such a God; a God who is so loving and kind to us, and who so readily offereth us His divine grace and goodness?

They who do unadvisedly neglect so great grace as is offered to them by God, shall in no wise escape His severe and eternal judgment; as is said in the epistle to the Hebrews: "If they that transgressed the law of Moses escape not unpunished, but died without mercy, how much more grievously shall God punish them who count the blood of the testament as an unholy thing, and tread under foot the Son of God."

How diligent is Paul in all his epistles to teach how the true knowledge of God may be obtained! How ardently doth he wish that men may possess this knowledge! the language of his soul is, if ye only knew and understood what God is, ye would then be safe: then ye would love Him, and do all things that are approved of Him. How desirous is he also that those who have obtained this knowledge should increase in it! This he saith, Col. I. "We cease not to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of His will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, that ye might walk worthy of the Lord, pleasing unto all, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long suffering with joyfulness, giving thanks unto the Father, who made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light."

Thus we learn from the first part of the text, that the knowledge of God cometh from the Father:—that it is necessary He should lay the foundation of our building, in order that our labour may not be in vain. This God effecteth through the preaching of his word, by those ministers who He hath taught and sent forth to make known unto us the way of salvation. For St. Paul saith, Rom. X. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." And first, we have preached unto us the law; whereby we learn that all the deeds and

actions of our lives, although they may have appeared righteous before men, are of no estimation before God; nay, that they are even abhorred and loathed by him; and that it is utterly impossible for us to obtain salvation thereby. Afterwards, we have the preaching of grace, which teacheth us, that although we cannot be saved by our own works of righteousness, yet it has pleased God to make provision for us, in order that we may not be utterly condemned and cast off; that He will receive us in the name of His beloved Son, whom He has given unto us as a mediator and Saviour: and that He will even make us heirs to His kingdom; yea, and lords over all things in heaven and earth.

When the preaching of the law taketh hold on our hearts, when we find ourselves condemned with all our works, our mind is made exceedingly sorrowful, we sigh unto God and know not what to do; our conscience is evil and fearful, we can see no way to escape from the justice of God; and thus we are brought to the very brink of despair. If, when in this situation, we hear the preaching of the gospel of grace, if the way to Christ be shown us, if we be made sensible that we must be saved through Him alone, by mere grace and mercy without any of our own works and merits, then is the heart made joyful, and hasteth to lay hold on this grace, as the thirsty hart runneth unto the water. Thus David saith, "As the hart desireth the water brooks, so longeth my soul after Thee, O my God: my soul thirsteth for God, yea, even for the living God."

When a man is thus taught of God, and cometh to Christ through the gospel, he heareth the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ, which strengtheneth the knowledge that God hath taught him. He findeth God to be none other than a Savior abounding with grace, and that He will be favorable and merciful to all who will call upon Him in the name of His Son. For the Lord saith, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth in Me hath everlasting life. I am that bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is that bread that cometh down from heaven, that he who eateth of it shall not die. I am that living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

In these words the soul findeth a table daintily furnished, whereat it may satiate its hunger. This is that supper, to the preparing of which our Lord hath killed His oxen and His fatlings; and He hath bidden us all to partake of it. Therefore, if we commit ourselves

confidently unto Him, and cleave to His word, His spirit will dwell in us, and we shall continue at this goodly table forever. The living bread of which the Lord here speaketh is Christ himself, who was slain for us, and by whom we are fed. If we receive but a morsel of this bread in our hearts, and retain it, we shall be forever satisfied. It will furnish us a repast at which we may banquet continually, without ever being cloyed.

Now to enjoy this repast, we have only to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ; that He is made unto us of God, as Paul saith, I Cor. i. "Wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." He that partaketh of this repast shall live forever: for when the Jews were in contention about the words of Christ, He saith, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whosoever eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." The manna which the fathers did eat in the desert, could not save from death; but this food maketh us immortal. If we believe in Christ, death hath no power to hurt us; nay, there is no more death: for Christ saith unto the Jews, John viii. 51. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep My saying, he shall never see death." Here it is evident he speaketh of the word of faith and the gospel.

But it may be said that the righteous die notwithstanding: that Abraham and the holy prophets are dead; as the Jews said unto Christ. I answer: The death of Christians is only a sleep, and it is commonly thus called in scripture. For a Christian tasteth and seeth no death; that is, it hath no pangs to him, nor doth he fear it. It is to him only a passage and gate to life; for the Savior Christ Jesus, in whom he believeth, hath overcome death. Christ saith, John v. 24. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth My word, and believeth on Him that sent Me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life."

Not only is the death of a Christian free from terror, but his life also is happy and joyful. To him the yoke of Christ is easy and pleasant; and that it seemeth grievous to others, is because the Father hath not yet drawn them: therefore, they can take no pleasure in doing His will, nor doth the gospel afford them any comfort. But to those whom He hath drawn, and hath taught by His spirit, the gospel of Christ is a source of exceeding joy and consolation.

Thus ye have heard how ye must feed by faith on this bread which cometh down from heaven; that is, on the Lord Jesus Christ;

which ye do when ye believe on Him and acknowledge Him as your Savior; and throughout the chapter from which our text is taken, the necessity of such a belief is strongly enforced. For when the multitude followed Christ, that they might eat and drink, He taketh occasion to recommend unto them this spiritual meat; and signified that He fed them with bodily meat, in order that they might believe on Him, and thus feed on that also which is spiritual.

In this manner doth Christ, throughout His discourse, endeavor to persuade men to lay hold on this bread of life. In what familiar and plain language doth He here offer Himself unto us! How gently and graciously doth He apply Himself to our hearts, in order that we may do the will of our heavenly Father! which is nothing else than to believe on His Son; that He suffered death for our sakes; that although he was without sin, He took upon Him the sins of the world, and suffered as though He had committed them Himself; that He did the same willingly, to make atonement for our transgressions, in order that He might receive us as brethren and sisters;—if we believe these things, we do the will of our heavenly Father; for Christ saith, in the chapter from which the text is taken, "This is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life." It therefore appeareth, that he who hath faith doth the will of God, and eateth of the heavenly bread of which we have been speaking.

The bread and wine whereof we partake in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, are designed to represent the body and blood of Christ. This supper was instituted for the purpose of reminding us of the sufferings of our Savior, and to strengthen our faith, in order that we may be assured that His body and blood deliver us from sin, death, satan, and all evil. But it may be asked, how shall a man know that he partaketh of this heavenly bread, and is called to this spiritual supper? Answer:—Let him consider the matter in his own mind, and if he find that he hath comfort in the promises of God, and is persuaded that he is of that choice company, he is assuredly such a one indeed; for as we believe, so cometh it unto us. Such a man, moreover, will have a regard for his neighbor; he will assist him as his brother; he will deal justly with him; he will comfort, support, and encourage him —in short, he will do unto him no otherwise than he desireth to be done unto himself.

The reason why the mind of such a man is thus disposed, is, because his heart is filled with the love of God, and he therefore delight-

eth to do His will. It is now a pleasure to him to do good to his neighbor, and he is even grieved if there be none to whom he may be serviceable. He also deporteth himself with humility towards all men; he doth not esteem the temporal pleasures and vanities of life; he judgeth no man; he defameth no man; he interpreteth all things in the most favorable manner. When such a person seeth that matters go not well with his neighbor; if he fainteth in faith, if he waxeth cold in love, if his life is not every way approvable, he prayeth for and is ever ready to make restitution to his neighbor.
grieved if he chance to commit a fault: he imploreth pardon of God, him, and expostulateth with him as a brother. He is likewise sorely

But he that is destitute of faith, he that is not taught of God, doth not feel on this heavenly bread, neither bringeth he forth these fruits; for where a right faith is not found, such fruits are always wanting. Peter therefore teacheth us to make our calling unto salvation sure, by good works; namely, by works of love to our neighbor, doing toward him as toward our own flesh and blood. Thus much shall suffice, concerning this text.

THE PEASANT REVOLT

THE ARTICLES below are a very conservative statement of the grievances of the peasants in Germany. The peasants were favorable to Luther, and it will be seen that their demands were many of them based on a Lutheran point of view of the Bible. The revolt spread from the Black Forest into Thuringia and Saxony. These articles were drawn up in 1525. Luther tried to quiet the uprising with good advice, but the storm burst, castles and monasteries were razed to the ground and the revolution was not put down until South Germany was devastated and 100,000 of the people slain in the struggle.

Though the demands of the peasants were certainly fair enough, the revolt cast reproach upon the Lutheran movement, even though Luther had given his aid to the nobles to put it down.

THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF THE PEASANTS

The fundamental and correct chief articles of all the peasants and of those subject to ecclesiastical lords, relating to these matters in which they feel themselves aggrieved.

M cccc. quadratum, lx et duplicatum
V cum transibit, christiana secta peribit.

Ein M, vier c, zwei l darbey.
Und ein x das zwifach sey.
Bald man ein v dartzu ist schreyben
Werden nit souil secten des christen bleyben.

Peace to the Christian Reader and the Grace of God through Christ.

There are many evil writings put forth of late which take occasion, on account of the assembling of the peasants, to cast scorn upon the gospel, saying: Is this the fruit of the new teaching, that no one should obey but all should everywhere rise in revolt and rush together to reform or perhaps destroy altogether the authorities, both ecclesiastic and lay? The articles below shall answer these godless and criminal fault-finders, and serve in the first place to remove the reproach from the word of God and in the second place to give a Christian excuse for the disobedience or even revolt of the entire Peasantry. In the first place the Gospel is not the cause of revolt and disorder since it is the message of Christ, the promised Messiah, the Word of Life, teaching only love, peace, patience and concord. Thus, all who believe in Christ should learn to be loving, peaceful, long-suffering and harmonious. This is the foundation of all the articles of the peasants (as will be seen) who accept the gospel and live according to it. How then can the evil reports declare the Gospel to be a cause of revolt and disobedience? That the authors of evil reports and the enemies of the Gospel oppose themselves to these demands is due not to the Gospel, but to the Devil, the worst enemy of the Gospel, who causes this opposition by raising doubts in the minds of his followers, and thus the word of God, which teaches love, peace and concord, is overcome. In the second place it is clear that the peasants demand that this Gospel be taught them as a guide in life and they ought not to be called disobedient or disorderly. Whether God grant the peasants (earnestly wish-

ing to live according to His word) their requests or no, who shall find fault with the will of the Most High? Who shall meddle in His judgments or oppose his majesty? Did he not hear the children of Israel when they called upon Him and saved them out of the hands of Pharaoh? Can He not save His own to-day? Yea, he will save them and that speedily. Therefore, Christian reader, read the following articles with care and then judge. Here follow the articles:

The First Article.—First, it is our humble petition and desire, as also our will and resolution, that in the future we should have power and authority so that each community should choose and appoint a pastor, and that we should have the right to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should teach us the Gospel pure and simple, without any addition, doctrine or ordinance of man. For to teach us continually the true faith will lead us to pray God that through His grace this faith may increase within us and become a part of us. For if His grace work not within us we remain flesh and blood, which availeth nothing; since the Scripture clearly teaches that only through the true faith can we come to God. Only through His Mercy can we become holy. Hence such a guide and pastor is necessary and in this fashion grounded upon the Scriptures.

The Second Article.—According as the just tithe is established by the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, we are ready and willing to pay the fair tithe of grain. The word of God plainly provides that in giving according to right to God and distributing to His people the services of a pastor are required. We will that for the future our church provost, whomsoever the community shall appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe. From this he shall give to the pastor, elected by the whole community, a decent and sufficient maintenance for him and his (*im und den seynen*) as shall seem right to the whole community [*or,* with the knowledge of the community]. What remains ever shall be given to the poor of the place, as the circumstances and the general opinion demand. Should anything farther remain, let it be kept, lest any one should have to leave the country from poverty. Provision should also be made from this surplus to avoid laying any land tax on the poor. In case one or more villages themselves have sold their tithes on account of want, and the village has taken action as a whole, the buyer should not suffer loss, but we will that some proper agreement be reached with him for the repayment of the sum by the village with due interest. But those who have tithes which they have not purchased from a village, but which were appro-

priated by their ancestors, should not, and ought not, to be paid anything farther by the village which shall apply its tithes to the support of the pastors elected as above indicated, or to solace the poor as is taught by the scriptures. The small tithes, whether ecclesiastical or lay, we will not pay at all, for the Lord God created cattle for the free use of man. We will not, therefore, pay farther an unseemly tithe which is of man's invention.

The Third Article.—It has been the custom hitherto for men to hold us as their own property, which is pitiable enough, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, by the shedding of His precious blood, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly, it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and wish to be so. God does not teach us that we should lead a disorderly life in the lusts of flesh, but that we should love the Lord our God and our neighbor. We would gladly observe all this as God has commanded us in the celebration of the communion. He has not commanded us not to obey the authorities, but rather that we should be humble, not only towards those in authority, but towards everyone. We are thus ready to yield obedience according to God's law to our elected and regular authorities in all proper things becoming to a Christian. We, therefore, take it for granted that you will release us from serfdom as true Christians, unless it should be shown us from the Gospel that we are serfs.

The Fourth Article.—In the fourth place it has been the custom heretofore, that no poor man should be allowed to touch venison or wild fowl or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly as well as selfish and not agreeable to the word of God. In some places the authorities preserve the game to our great annoyance and loss, recklessly permitting the unreasoning animals to destroy to no purpose our crops which God suffers to grow for the use of man and yet we must remain quiet. This is neither godly nor neighborly. For when God created man he gave him dominion over all the animals, over the birds of the air and over the fish in the water. Accordingly it is our desire if a man holds possession of waters that he should prove from satisfactory documents that his right has been unwittingly acquired by purchase. We do not wish to take it from him by force, but his rights should be exercised in a Christian and brotherly fashion. But whosoever cannot produce such evidence should surrender his claim with good grace.

The Fifth Article.—In the fifth place we are aggrieved in the

matter of wood-cutting, for the noble folk have appropriated all the woods to themselves alone. If a poor man requires wood he must pay double for it, [*or perhaps,* two pieces of money]. It is our opinion in regard to a wood which has fallen into the hands of a lord whether spiritual or temporal, that unless it was duly purchased it should revert again to the community. It should, moreover, be free to every member of the community to help himself to such firewood as he needs in his home. Also, if a man requires wood for carpenter's purposes he should have it free, but with the knowledge of a person appointed by the community for that purpose. Should, however, no such forest be at the disposal of the community let that which has been duly bought be administered in a brotherly and Christian manner. If the forest, although unfairly appropriated in the first instance, was later duly sold let the matter be adjusted by a friendly spirit and according to the Scriptures.

The Sixth Article.—Our sixth complaint is in regard to the excessive services demanded of us which are increased from day to day. We ask that this matter be properly looked into so that we shall not continue to be oppressed in this way, but that some gracious consideration be given us, since our forefathers were required only to serve according to the word of God.

The Seventh Article.—Seventh, we will not hereafter allow ourselves to be further oppressed by our lords, but will let them demand only what is just and proper according to the word of the agreement between the lord and the peasant. The lord should no longer try to force more services or other dues from the peasant without payment, but permit the peasant to enjoy his holding in peace and quiet. The peasant should, however, help the lord when it is necessary, and at proper times when it will not be disadvantageous to the peasant and for a suitable payment.

The Eighth Article.—In the eighth place, we are greatly burdened by holdings which cannot support the rent exacted from them. The peasants suffer loss in this way and are ruined, and we ask that the lords may appoint persons of honor to inspect these holdings, and fix a rent in accordance with justice, so that the peasant shall not work for nothing, since the laborer is worthy of his hire.

The Ninth Article.—In the ninth place, we are burdened with a great evil in the constant making of new laws. We are not judged according to the offence, but sometimes with great ill will, and sometimes much too leniently. In our opinion we should be judged accord-

ing to the old written law so that the case shall be decided according to its merits, and not with partiality.

The Tenth Article.—In the tenth place, we are aggrieved by the appropriation by individuals of meadows and fields which at one time belonged to the community. These we will take again into our own hands. It may, however, happen that the land was rightfully purchased. When, however, the land has unfortunately been purchased in this way, some brotherly arrangement should be made according to circumstances.

The Eleventh Article.—In the eleventh place we will entirely abolish the due called *Todfall* [*i. e.,* heriot], and will no longer endure it, nor allow widows and orphans to thus be shamefully robbed against Gods will, and in violation of justice and right, as has been done in many places, and by those who should shield and protect them. These have disgraced and despoiled us, and although they had little authority they assumed it. God will suffer this no more, but it shall be wholly done away with, and for the future no man shall be bound to give little or much.

Conclusion.—In the twelfth place it is our conclusion and final resolution, that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly recede from when it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the Scripture. Or if articles should now be conceded to us that are hereafter discovered to be unjust, from that hour they shall be dead and null and without force. Likewise, if more complaints should be discovered which are based upon truth and the Scriptures and relate to offences against God and our neighbor, we have determined to reserve the right to present these also, and to exercise ourselves in all Christian teaching. For this we shall pray God, since He can grant these, and He alone. The peace of Christ abide with us all.—Univ. of Penn. Trans. and Reprints.

TRANSLATION OF JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

JOHN CALVIN

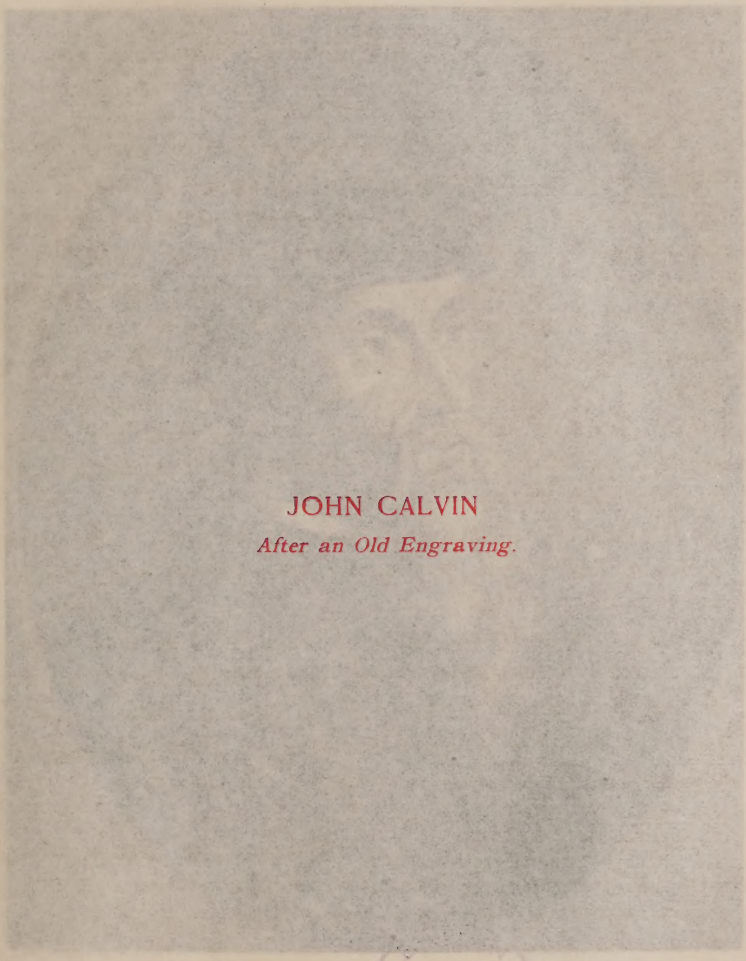
JOHN CALVIN was born in Picardy July 10, 1509. He was at first educated for the priesthood, then his father persuaded him to study law. This he was willing to do because he had already come under the influence of Olivetan, the first translator of the Bible into French. He showed great ability for law, but he became interested at Bourges in the reformed movement. From 1529 to 1532 he was in Paris, a zealous reformer. He first published his Institutes about 1536 in order to make the faith of the French reformers public and especially to distinguish them from the Anabaptists. In 1537 the Swiss reformer Farel got him to identify himself with the reform movement in Geneva, where he spent most of the rest of his life.

In Geneva was established a sort of theocracy. The citizens swore to the articles of faith, and after once banishing the ministers from the city because they tried to enforce too strictly their regulations in regard to living, recalled them and gave them the support of the city.

It must be remembered that the reformers considered heretics just as wicked as did the Catholics. For example Bolsec, who objected to predestination, was banished from Geneva, and Servetus, who ridiculed the idea of the Trinity, was burned (Oct. 27, 1553).

Calvin's death took place May 27, 1564.

In theology he was a close follower of St. Augustine. His influence was to revivify the ideas of St. Augustine and, joining them to the main ideas of the reformation, embody them in the church he organized. We give below his chapter on predestination. It will be noted that he relies in his argument entirely upon passages of the Bible.



JOHN CALVIN

After an Old Engraving.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

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he found many of the people unwilling to accept the Protestant doctrine. The citizens swore to the articles of faith, and after once breaking the oath, when the city council tried to enforce too strictly their regulations in regard to living, swelled anew and gave them the support of the city.

It should be remembered that the reformers considered heresy just as wicked as did the Catholics. For example Bolsec, who objected to predestination, was banished from Geneva, and Servetus, who ridiculed the idea of the Trinity, was burned (Oct. 27, 1553).

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ETERNAL ELECTION

THE covenant of life not being equally preached to all, and among those to whom it is preached not always finding the same reception, this diversity discovers the wonderful depth of the Divine judgment. Nor is it to be doubted that this variety also follows, subject to the decision of God's eternal election. If it be evidently the result of the Divine will, that salvation is freely offered to some, and others are prevented from attaining it,—this immediately gives rise to important and difficult questions, which are incapable of any other explication, than by the establishment of pious minds in what ought to be received concerning election and predestination—a question, in the opinion of many, full of perplexity; for they consider nothing more unreasonable, than that, of the common mass of mankind, some should be predestinated to salvation, and others to destruction. But how unreasonably they perplex themselves will afterwards appear from the sequel of our discourse. Besides, the very obscurity which excites such dread, not only displays the utility of this doctrine, but shows it to be productive of the most delightful benefit. We shall never be clearly convinced as we ought to be, that our salvation flows from the fountain of God's free mercy, till we are acquainted with His eternal election, which illustrates the grace of God by this comparison, that He adopts not all promiscuously to the hope of salvation, but gives to some what He refuses to others. Ignorance of this principle evidently detracts from the Divine glory, and diminishes real humility. But according to Paul, what is so necessary to be known, never can be known, unless God, without any regard to works, chooses those whom He has decreed. "At this present time also, there is a remnant according to the election of grace. And if by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise, grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace; otherwise, work is no more work." If we need to be recalled to the origin of election, to prove that we obtain salvation from no other source than the mere goodness of God, they who desire to extinguish this principle, do all they can to obscure what ought to be magnificently and loudly celebrated, and to pluck up humility by the roots. In ascribing the salvation of the remnant of the people to the election of grace, Paul clearly testifies, that it is then only known that God saves whom He which there can be no claim. They who shut the gates to prevent any

one from presuming to approach and taste this doctrine, do no less injury to man than to God; for nothing else will be sufficient to produce in us suitable humility, or to impress us with a due sense of our great obligations to God. Nor is there any other basis for solid confidence, even according to the authority of Christ, who, to deliver us from all fear, and render us invincible amidst so many dangers, snares, and deadly conflicts, promises to preserve in safety all whom the Father has committed to His care. Whence we infer, that they who know not themselves to be God's peculiar people will be tortured with continual anxiety; and therefore, that the interest of all believers, as well as their own, is very badly consulted by those who, blind to the three advantages we have remarked, would wholly remove the foundation of our salvation. And hence the Church rises to our view, which otherwise, as Bernard justly observes, could neither be discovered nor recognized among creatures, being in two respects wonderfully concealed in the bosom of a blessed predestination, and in the mass of a miserable damnation. But before I enter on the subject itself, I must address some preliminary observations to two sorts of persons. The discussion of predestination—a subject of itself rather intricate—is made very perplexed, and therefore dangerous, by human curiosity, which no barriers can restrain from wandering into forbidden labyrinths, and soaring beyond its sphere, as if determined to leave none of the Divine secrets unscrutinized or unexplored. As we see multitudes every where guilty of this arrogance and presumption, and among them some who are not censurable in other respects, it is proper to admonish them of the bounds of their duty on this subject. First, then, let them remember that when they inquire into predestination, they penetrate the inmost recesses of Divine wisdom, where the careless and confident intruder will obtain no satisfaction to his curiosity, but will enter a labyrinth from which he will find no way to depart. For it is unreasonable that man should scrutinize with impunity those things which the Lord has determined to be hidden in himself; and investigate, even from eternity, that sublimity of wisdom which God would have us to adore and not comprehend, to promote our admiration of His glory. The secrets of His will which He determined to reveal to us, He discovers in His word; and these are all that He foresaw would concern us or conduce to our advantage.

II. "We are come into the way of faith," says Augustine; "let us constantly pursue it. It conducts into the king's palace, in which

are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. For the Lord Christ Himself envied not His great and most select disciples when He said, 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.' We must talk, we must improve, we must grow, that our hearts may be able to understand those things of which we are at present incapable. If the last day finds us improving, we shall then learn what we never could learn in the present state." If we only consider that the word of the Lord is the only way to lead us to an investigation of all that ought to be believed concerning Him, and the only light to enlighten us to behold all that ought to be seen of Him, this consideration will easily restrain and preserve us from all presumption. For we shall know that when we have exceeded the limits of the word, we shall get into a devious and darksome course, in which errors, slips, and falls, will often be inevitable. Let us, then, in the first place, bear in mind, that to desire any other knowledge of predestination than what is unfolded in the word of God, indicates as great folly, as a wish to walk through unpassable roads, or to see in the dark. Nor let us be ashamed to be ignorant of some things relative to a subject in which there is a kind of learned ignorance. Rather let us abstain with cheerfulness from the pursuit of that knowledge, the affectation of which is foolish, dangerous, and even fatal. But if we are stimulated by the wantonness of intellect, we must oppose it with a reflection calculated to repress it, that as "it is not good to eat much honey, so for men to search their own glory, is not glory." For there is sufficient to deter us from that presumption, which can only precipitate us into ruin.

III. Others, desirous of remedying this evil, will have all mention of predestination to be as it were buried; they teach men to avoid every question concerning it as they would a precipice. Though their moderation is to be commended, in judging that mysteries ought to be handled with such great sobriety, yet, as they descend too low, they have little influence on the mind of man, which refuses to submit to unreasonable restraints. To observe, therefore, the legitimate boundary on this side also, we must recur to the word of the Lord, which affords a certain rule for the understanding. For the Scripture is the school of the Holy Spirit, in which, as nothing necessary and useful to be known is omitted, so nothing is taught which is not beneficial to know. Whatever, therefore, is declared in the Scripture concerning predestination, we must be cautious not to withhold from believers, lest we appear either to defraud them of the favor of their God, or to reprove and censure the Holy Spirit for publishing what it would be useful by any

means to suppress. Let us, I say, permit the Christian man to open his heart and his ears to all the discourses addressed to him by God, only with this moderation, that as soon as the Lord closes his sacred mouth, he shall also desist from further inquiry. This will be the best barrier of sobriety, if in learning we not only follow the leadings of God, but as soon as he ceases to teach, we give up our desire of learning. Nor is the danger they dread, sufficient to divert our attention from the oracles of God. It is a celebrated observation of Solomon, that "it is the glory of God to conceal a thing." But, as both piety and common sense suggest that this is not to be understood generally of every thing, we must seek for the proper distinction, lest we content ourselves with brutish ignorance under the pretext of modesty and sobriety. Now, this distinction is clearly expressed in a few words by Moses "The secret things," he says, "belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law." For we see how he enforces on the people attention to the doctrine of the law only by the celestial decree, because it pleased God to promulgate it; and restrains the same people within those limits with this single reason, that it is not lawful for mortals to intrude into the secrets of God.

IV. Profane persons, I confess, suddenly lay hold of something relating to the subject of predestination, to furnish occasion for objections, cavils, reproaches, and ridicule. But if we are frightened from it by their impudence, all the principal articles of the faith must be concealed, for there is scarcely one of them which such persons as these leave unviolated by blasphemy. The refractory mind will discover as much insolence, on hearing that there are three persons in the Divine essence, as on being told, that when God created man, He foresaw what would happen concerning him. Nor will they refrain from derision on being informed that little more than five thousand years have elapsed since the creation of the world. They will ask why the power of God was so long idle and asleep. Nothing can be advanced which they will not endeavor to ridicule. Must we, in order to check these sacrileges, say nothing of the Divinity of the Son and Spirit, or pass over in silence the creation of the world? In this instance, and every other, the truth of God is too powerful to dread the detraction of impious men; as is strenuously maintained by Augustine, in his treatise on the Perseverance of the Faithful. We see the false apostles, with all their defamation and accusation of the true doctrine of Paul, could never succeed to make him ashamed of it. Their assertion, that all this

discussion is dangerous to pious minds, because it is inconsistent with exhortations, shakes their faith, and disturbs and discourages the heart itself, is without any foundation. Augustine admits, that he was frequently blamed, on these accounts, for preaching predestination too freely; but he readily and amply refutes them. But as many and various absurdities are crowded upon us here, we prefer reserving every one to be refuted in its proper place. I only desire this general admission, that we should neither scrutinize those things which the Lord has left concealed, nor neglect those which He has openly exhibited, lest we be condemned for excessive curiosity on the one hand, or for ingratitude on the other. For it is judiciously remarked by Augustine, that we may safely follow the Scripture, which proceeds as with the pace of a mother stooping to the weakness of a child, that it may not leave our weak capacities behind. But persons who are so cautious or timid, as to wish predestination to be buried in silence, lest feeble minds should be disturbed,—with what pretext, I ask, will they gloss over their arrogance, which indirectly charges God with foolish inadvertency, as though He foresaw not the danger which they suppose they have had the penetration to discover. Whoever, therefore, endeavors to raise prejudices against the doctrine of predestination, openly reproaches God, as though something had inconsiderately escaped from Him that is pernicious to the Church.

V. Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death, no one, desirous of the credit of piety, dares absolutely to deny. But it is involved in many cavils, especially by those who make foreknowledge the cause of it. We maintain, that both belong to God; but it is preposterous to represent one as dependent on the other. When we attribute foreknowledge to God, we mean that all things have ever been, and perpetually remain, before His eyes, so that to His knowledge nothing in future or past, but all things are present; and present in such a manner, that He does not merely conceive of them from ideas formed in His mind, as things remembered by us appear present to our minds, but really beholds and sees them as if actually placed before Him. And this foreknowledge extends to the whole world, and to all the creatures. Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which He has determined in Himself what would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being created

for one or the other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated either to life or to death. This God has not only testified in particular persons, but has given a specimen of it in the whole posterity of Abraham, which should evidently show the future condition of every nation to depend upon His decision. "When the Most High divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, the Lord's portion was His people; Jacob was the lot of His inheritance." The separation is before the eyes of all: in the person of Abraham, as in the dry turnk of a tree, one people is peculiarly chosen to the rejection of others: no reason for this appears, except that Moses, to deprive their posterity of all occasion of glorying, teaches them that their exaltation is wholly from God's gratuitous love. He assigns this reason for their deliverance, that "He loved their fathers, and chose their seed after them." More fully in another chapter: "The Lord did not set His love upon you, nor choose you, because you were more in number than any people; but because the Lord loved you." He frequently repeats the same admonition: "Behold, the heaven is the Lord's thy God, the earth also, with all that therein is. Only the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and He chose their seed after them." In another place, sanctification is enjoined upon them, because they were chosen to be a peculiar people. And again, elsewhere, love is asserted to be the cause of their protection. It is declared by the united voice of the faithful, "He hath chosen our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob, whom He loved." For the gifts conferred on them by God, they all ascribe to gratuitous love, not only from a consciousness that these were not obtained by any merit of theirs, but from a conviction, that the holy patriarch himself was not endued with such excellence as to acquire the privilege of so great an honor for himself and his posterity. And the more effectually to demolish all pride, he reproaches them with having deserved no favor, being "a stiff-necked and rebellious people." The prophets also frequently reproach the Jews with the unwelcome mention of this election, because they had shamefully departed from it. Let them, however, now come forward, who wish to restrict the election of God to the desert of men, or the merit of works. When they see one nation preferred to all others,—when they hear that God had no inducement to be more favorable to a few, and ignoble, and even disobedient and obstinate people,—will they quarrel with him because he has chosen to give such an example of mercy? But their obstreperous clamors will not impede this work, nor will the reproaches they hurl against Heaven, injure or affect his justice; they will rather recoil upon their own heads.

To this principle of the gracious covenant, the Israelites are also recalled whenever thanks are to be rendered to God, or their hopes are to be raised for futurity. "He hath made us, and not we ourselves," says the Psalmist: "we are His people, and the sheep of His pasture." It is not without reason that the negation is added, "not we ourselves," that they may know that of all the benefits they enjoy, God is not only the Author, but derived the cause from Himself, there being nothing in them deserving of such great honor. He also enjoins them to be content with the mere good pleasure of God, in these words: "O ye seed of Abraham His servant, ye children of Jacob His chosen." And after having recounted the continual benefits bestowed by God as fruits of election, he at length concludes that He had acted with such liberality, "because He remembered His covenant." Consistent with this doctrine is the song of the whole Church: "Thy right hand, and Thine arm, and the light of Thy countenance, gave our fathers the land, because Thou hadst a favor unto them. It must be observed that where mention is made of the land, it is a visible symbol of the secret separation, which comprehends adoption. David, in another place, exhorts the people to the same gratitude: "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; and the people whom He hath chosen for His own inheritance." Samuel animates to a good hope: "The Lord will not forsake His people, for His great name's sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you His people." David, when his faith is assailed, thus arms himself for the conflict: "Blessed is the man whom Thou choosest, and causest to approach unto Thee; he shall dwell in Thy courts." But since the election hidden in God has been confirmed by the first deliverance, as well as by the second and other intermediate blessings, the word *choose* is transferred to it in Isaiah: "The Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel;" because, contemplating a future period, He declares that the collection of the residue of the people, whom He had appeared to have forsaken, would be a sign of the stable and sure election, which had likewise seemed to fail. When He says also, in another place, "I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away," He commends the continual course of His signal liberality and paternal benevolence. The angel, in Zachariah, speaks more plainly: "The Lord shall choose Jerusalem again;" as though His severe chastisement had been a rejection, or their exile had been an interruption of election; which, nevertheless, remains inviolable, though the tokens of it are not always visible.

VI. We must now proceed to a second degree of election, still more restricted, or that in which the Divine grace was displayed in a

more special manner, when of the same race of Abraham God rejected some, and by nourishing others in the Church, proved that He retained them among His children. Israel at first obtained the same station as his brother Isaac, for the spiritual covenant was equally sealed in him by the symbol of circumcision. He is cut off; afterwards Esau; lastly, an innumerable multitude, and almost all Israel. In Isaac the seed was called; the same calling continued in Jacob. God exhibited a similar example in the rejection of Saul, which is magnificently celebrated by the Psalmist: "He refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim, but chose the tribe of Judah;" and this the sacred history frequently repeats, that the wonderful secret of Divine grace may be more manifest in that change. I grant, it was by their own crime and guilt that Ishmael, Esau, and persons of similar characters, fell from the adoption; because the condition annexed was, that they should faithfully keep the covenant of God, which they perfidiously violated. Yet it was a peculiar favor of God, that He deigned to prefer them to other nations; as it is said in the Psalms: "He hath not dealt so with any nation; and so for His judgments, they have not known them." But I have justly said that here are two degrees to be remarked; for in the election of the whole nation, God has already shown that in His mere goodness He is bound by no laws, but is perfectly free, so that none can require of Him an equal distribution of grace, the inequality of which demonstrates it to be truly gratuitous. Therefore Malachi aggravates the ingratitude of Israel, because, though not only elected out of the whole race of mankind, but also separated from a sacred family to be a peculiar people, they perfidiously and impiously despised God their most beneficent Father. "Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau." For God takes it for granted, since both were sons of a holy father, successors of the covenant, and branches from a sacred root, that the children of Jacob were already laid under more than common obligations by their admission to that honor; but Esau, the first-born, having been rejected, and their father, though inferior by birth, having been made the heir, He proves them guilty of double ingratitude, and complains of their violating this two-fold claim.

VII. Though it is sufficiently clear, that God, in his secret counsel, freely chooses whom He will, and rejects others, His gratuitous election is but half displayed till we come to particular individuals, to whom God not only offers salvation, but assigns it in such a manner, that the certainty of the effect is liable to no suspense or doubt. These are in-

cluded in that one seed mentioned by Paul; for though the adoption was deposited in the hand of Abraham, yet many of his posterity being cut off as putrid members, in order to maintain the efficacy and stability of election, it is necessary to ascend to the head, in whom their heavenly Father has bound His elect to each other, and united them to Himself by an indissoluble bond. Thus the adoption of the family of Abraham displayed the favor of God, which He denied to others; but in the members of Christ there is a conspicuous exhibition of the superior efficacy of grace; because, being united to their head, they never fail of salvation. Paul, therefore, justly reasons from the passage of Malachi which I have just quoted, that where God, introducing the covenant of eternal life, invites any people to Himself, there is a peculiar kind of election as to part of them, so that he does not efficaciously choose all with indiscriminate grace. The declaration, "Jacob have I loved," respects the whole posterity of the patriarch, whom the prophet there opposes to the descendants of Esau. Yet this is no objection to our having in the person of one individual a specimen of the election, which can never fail of attaining its full effect. These, who truly belong to Christ, Paul correctly observes, are called "a remnant;" for experience proves, that of a great multitude the most part fall away and disappear, so that often only a small portion remains. That the general election of a people is not always effectual and permanent, a reason readily presents itself, because, when God covenants with them, He does not also give the spirit of regeneration to enable them to preserve in the covenant to the end; but the eternal call, without the internal efficacy of grace. which would be sufficient for their preservation, is a kind of medium between the rejection of all mankind and the election of the small number of believers. The whole nation of Israel was called "God's inheritance," though many of them were strangers; but God, having firmly covenanted to their Father and Redeemer, regards that gratuitous favor rather than the defection of multitudes; by whom His truth was not violated, because His preservation of a certain remnant to Himself, made it evident that His calling was without repentance. For God's collection of a Church for himself, from time to time, from the children of Abraham, rather than from the profane nations, was in consideration of his covenant, which, being violated by the multitude, He restricted to a few, to prevent a total failure. Lastly, the general adoption of the seed of Abraham was a visible representation of a greater blessing, which God conferred on the few out of the multitude. This is the reason that Paul so carefully distinguishes the descendants of Abraham

according to the flesh, from His spiritual children called after the example of Isaac. Not that the mere descent from Abraham was a vain and unprofitable thing, which could not be asserted without depreciating the covenant; but because to the latter alone the immutable counsel of God, in which He predestinated whom He would, was of itself effectual to salvation. But I advise my readers to adopt no prejudice on either side, till it shall appear from adducted passages of Scripture what sentiments ought to be entertained. In conformity, therefore, to the clear doctrine of the Scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined, both whom He would admit to salvation, and whom He would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on His gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit; but that to those whom He devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible, judgment. In the elect, we consider calling as an evidence of election, and justification as another token of its manifestation, till they arrive in glory, which constitutes its completion. As God seals His elect by vocation and justification, so by excluding the reprobate from the knowledge of His name and the sanctification of His Spirit, He affords an indication of the judgment that awaits them. Here I shall pass over many fictions fabricated by foolish men to overthrow predestination. It is unnecessary to refute things which, as soon as they are advanced, sufficiently prove their own falsehood. I shall dwell only on these things which are subjects of controversy among the learned, or which may occasion difficulty to simple minds, or which impiety speciously pleads in order to stigmatize the Divine justice.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION was drawn up to be presented to Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. Charles inherited united Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, and Austria, and was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire 1519, taking the title of Charles V. Charles was a Catholic and took the side of the papacy, but his wars with Francis of France and the Turks took so much of his efforts that he could not put forth his power to crush the reform movement. The Diet of Augsburg was held after his second war with Francis, and though the emperor decided for Catholicism, when the time came to execute the edict the next spring he was again busy with France and the Turks.

The Confession shows the ideas of the Reformation better than any other one document and is the basis of the Protestantism of northern Europe. It was not however the belief in all ways of all Protestants. Zwingli believed that the sacrament did not change the bread and wine to the actual body of Christ, and Luther and he never permanently joined forces. Calvin later had other differences of belief, but the document states in an effective form the ideas of the Protestants of Germany.

It was drawn up and read in German, "We are Germans," said the elector, "and on German ground. I hope your majesty will allow us to speak German," and an eye-witness states of its effect on the hearers that "Christ was in the Diet and did not keep silent."

The ideas of the Confession were Luther's, but it was drawn up by Melancthon.

CONFESSION OF FAITH

Presented to the Invincible Emperor Charles the V., Caesar Augustus, at the Diet of Augsburg, in the year 1530.

Part First

CHIEF ARTICLES OF FAITH

Art. I. Of God.

The churches, with the common consent among us, teach that the decree of the Nicene Synod concerning the unity of the divine essence and of the persons is true and without any question to be believed: to wit, that there is one divine essence that is called and truly is God, eternal, incorporeal, without parts, of the highest power, wisdom, goodness, the Creator and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible; and that yet there are three persons of the same essence and power, also co-eternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. And they make use of the name of person with the meaning in which the church fathers make use of it in this cause, to signify not a part or quality in another, but that which actually exists.

They condemn all the heresies that have sprung up contrary to this article such as the Manichæans, who presuppose two principles, the good and the evil; likewise the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans, and all such like. They condemn also the Samostenes, old and new; who since they earnestly contend that there is but one person, do craftily and wickedly trifle, after the manner of rhetoricians, about the Word and the Holy Spirit, that they are not distinct persons, but that the Word signifies a vocal word, and the Spirit a motion created in things.

Art. II. Of Original Sin.

Also they teach that, after Adam's fall, all men begotten after the common course of nature come into this world with sin; that is, without the fear of God, without trust in him, and with fleshly appetite; and that this curse, or original fault, is truly sin, bringing eternal condemnation now also upon all those that are not born again by baptism and the Holy Ghost.

They condemn the Pelasgians, and others, who deny this original fault to be truly sin; and who, wishing to lessen the glory of the

merits and benefits of Christ, say that a man may, by the power of his own reason, be justified before God.

Art. III. Of the Son of God.

Also they teach us that the Word, meaning the Son of God, took unto Him the nature of man in the womb of he blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, the divine and the human, inseparably joined in unity of person; one Christ, truly God and man: who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, died and was buried, that He might reconcile the Father with us, and might be a sacrifice, not only for the sin of our first parents, but also for all actual sins of men.

Christ also descended into hell, and rose again the third day. Afterward He ascended into heaven, to sit at the right hand of the Father; and forever reign, and have dominion over all men; to sanctify those that believe in Him, by sending the Holy Ghost into their hearts, who shall rule [sanctify, purify, strengthen], console, and quicken them, and defend them against the devil, and the power of sin.

The same Christ shall come again, to judge the living and the dead, according to the Apostles' Creed.

Art. IV. Of Justification.

Also they teach that we can not be justified [obtain forgiveness of sins and righteousness] before God by our own merits, powers, or works; but are justified [by grace] for Christ's sake by faith, when they believe they are received into favor and their sins forgiven for His sake, who by His death has given satisfaction for our sins. This faith does God impute for righteousness before Him. Rom. iii. and iv.

Art. V. Of the Ministry of the Church.

To obtain this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was established.

Because by the Word and Sacraments, as by instruments, the Holy Ghost is given: who worketh faith, when and where it pleases God, in those that hear His Word, to wit, that God, not for our merit's sake, but for Christ's sake, justifies those who believe that for Christ's sake they are received into favor.

They condemn the Anabaptists and others, who think that the Holy Ghost is given to men without the outward word, on account of their own preparations and works.

Art. VI. Of New Obedience.

For the remission of our sins and justification is apprehended by faith, as the voice of Christ testifies: "When ye have done all these

things, say, We are unprofitable servants."

Likewise do the ancient writers of the Church teach; as Ambrose says: "This is ordained of God, that he that believes in Christ shall be saved, without works, by faith alone, freely receiving remission of sin."

Art. VII. Of the Church.

They also teach that one holy Church is to live forever. But the Church is the congregation of saints [the assembly of all who believe.], where the Gospel is rightly taught [purely preached] and the Sacraments rightly administered [according to the Gospel].

And for the true unity of the Church, it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and administering of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites and ceremonies instituted by men should be the same everywhere, as St. Paul says: "There is one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all."

Art. VIII. What the Church is.

Although properly the Church is the congregation of saints and true believers, yet since in this world many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled with it, it is lawful to use the Sacraments administered by evil men, according to the voice of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 2): "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat," and the following words. And the Sacraments and the Word are efficacious, by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, even though they be delivered by evil men.

They condemn the Donatists and such like, who said it was unlawful to use the ministry of evil men in the Church, and held that the ministry of such men is useless and without effect.

Art. IX. Of Baptism.

They teach that Baptism is necesary to salvation, that by Baptism the grace of God is offered, and that children are to be baptized, who by Baptism are offered to God, and received into His favor.

They condemn the Anabaptists who do not allow the baptism of children, and affirm that children are saved without Baptism.

Art. X. Of the Lord's Supper.

Of the Lord's Supper they teach that the [true] body and blood of Christ are really present [under the appearance of bread and wine], and are [there] communicated to all that eat in the Lord's Supper [and received]. And they disapprove of those that teach differently [wherefore also the opposite doctrine is rejected].

Art. XI. Of Confession.

Concerning confession, they teach that private absolution be retained in the churches, though the naming of all offenses is not necessary in confession. For it is impossible, according to the Psalm: "Who can understand his errors!"

Art. XII. Of Repentance.

About repentance, they teach that those who have fallen after baptism may find remission of their sins, at the time they are converted [whenever they come to repentance], and that the Church should give absolution to such as return to repentance.

Now repentance consists properly of these two parts: One is contrition, or terrors stricken into the conscience by the acknowledgment of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel, or absolution, and believes that sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, comforts the conscience, and frees it from terrors. Then should follow good works, which are fruits of repentance.

They condemn Anabaptists, who deny that men once justified can lose the Spirit of God, and contend that some men reach such a perfection in this world that they can not sin. [Here are rejected those who teach that those who have once been pure can fall again.] The Novatians are also condemned, who would not absolve those who had fallen after baptism, though they repented. They also that do not teach that remission of sins is obtained by faith, and who command us to obtain grace by satisfactions, are rejected.

Art. XIII. Of the Use of Sacraments.

Concerning the use of the Sacrament, they teach that they were ordained, not alone to be marks of profession among men, but rather that they should be signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, sent forth unto us to arouse and strengthen faith in those that use them. Hence men must use Sacraments so as to join them to faith, which believes the promises that are offered and declared unto us by the Sacraments.

Wherefore they condemn those that teach that the Sacraments justify by the work done, and do not teach that faith which believes the remission of sins is necessary in the use of the Sacraments.

Art. XIV. Of Ecclesiastical Orders.

About Ecclesiastical Orders [Church Government], they teach that no one should publicly in the Church teach or administer the Sacraments, unless he be rightly called [without a regular call].

Art. XV. Of Ecclesiastical Rites.

Concerning Ecclesiasical rites [made by men], they teach that those rites are to be observed which may be without sin, and are of value for tranquillity and good order in the Church; such as set holidays, feasts, and the like. Yet concerning these things, men are to be admonished that consciences are not to be burdened as if such exercise were necessary to their salvation.

Also they are to be admonished that human traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to deserve grace, and make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days, and the like, instituted to merit grace and to give atonement for sins are useless and contrary to the Gospel.

Art. XVI. Of Civil Affairs.

Regarding civil affairs, they teach that the civil ordinances that are lawful are good works of God; that Christians may legally hold civil office, render judgment, decide matters by the imperial laws, and other laws in present effect, inflict just punishment, engage in just war, act as soldiers, enter into legal transactions, hold property, take oaths when required by the magistrates, marry a wife, and be given in marriage. They condemn the Anabaptists who deny Christians these civil rights. They reject also those that place the perfection of the Gospel, not in the fear of God and in their faith, but in forsaking civil offices, as the Gospel teaches an everlasting righteousness of the heart. In the meantime, it does not disallow order and government of commonwealths or families, but requires particularly the preservation and maintenance of them, as if God's own ordinances, and that in such ordinances we should exercise love. Christians, therefore, must necessarily obey the magistrates and laws, except only when they command any sin; for then they must rather obey God than man (Acts v. 29).

Art. XVII. Of Christ's Return to Judgment.

They also teach that, at the final end of the world [on the last day], Christ will appear to judge, and will raise up all the dead, and will give unto the godly and elect everlasting life and joys; but will condemn ungodly men and the devils to torments without end.

They reject the Anabaptists who think that to condemned men and the devils shall be an end of torments. They condemn others also, who now spread Jewish opinions, that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall inhabit the kingdom of the world, the evil being everywhere suppressed [the saints alone, the pious, will have a worldly kingdom, and will exterminate all the ungodly].

Art. XVIII. Of Free Will.

Concerning free will, they teach that man's will has some liberty to work civil righteousness, and to choose those things that reason can reach unto; but that it has no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness, without the Spirit of God; because the natural man receives not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Cod. ii. 14). But this is wrought in the heart when the Spirit of God is received through His Word.

These things are in so many words affirmed by St. Augustine, *Hypognosticon,* lib. iii.: "We admit that there is in all men a free will, which has indeed the judgment of reason; not that it is therefore fitted, without God, either to begin or to perform anything in matters relating to God, but only in works, pertaining to this present life whether they be good or evil. By good works I mean those which concern the goodness of nature; as to will to labor in the field, to wish meat or drink, to desire to have a friend, to desire apparal, to desire to build a house, to marry a wife, to nourish cattle, to learn the art of various good things, to desire any good thing pertaining to this present life; all of which exist only through God's order, yea, they are, and had their beginning in God and by God. Among evil things, I account such as these: to will to worship an idol; to will manslaughter, and such like.."

They reject the Pelasgians and others, who teach that by the powers of nature alone, without the Spirit of God, are we able to love God above all things; likewise to act according to the precepts of God, as touching the substance of our actions. For though nature be able in some sort to do the external works (for it is able to withhold hands from theft or murder), yet it cannot bring the inward motives such as fear of God, trust in God, chastity, patience, and such like.

Art. XIX. Of the Cause of Sin.

Touching the cause of sin, they teach that, although God does create and preserve nature, still the cause of sin is the will of the wicked; to wit, of the devil and ungodly men; which will, without God's aid, turns itself from Him, as Christ said: "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own" (John viii. 44).

Art. XX. Of Good Works.

Ours are wrongly accused of forbidding good works. For their writings extant upon the Ten Commandments, and others of a like argument, bear witness that they have to good purpose taught concerning every kind of life, and its duties; what kinds of life, and what

works in every calling, please God. Of the things preachers in former times taught little or nothing: they only urged certain childish and useless works; as, keeping of holidays, set fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worshiping of saints, the use of rosaries, monkery, and such things. Whereof our adversaries having been warned, they do now unlearn them, and preach not concerning these unprofitable works, as they were wont. Besides, they begin now to make mention of faith, about which there was formerly a deep silence. They teach that we are not justified by works alone; but they conjoin faith and works, and say we are justified by faith and works. This doctrine is more tolerable than the former one, and affords more consolation than their old doctrine.

Whereas, therefore, the doctrine of faith, which should be the prime one in the Church, has been so long unknown, as all must grant, that there was the deepest silence about the righteousness of faith in their sermons, and that the doctrine of works was usual in the churches; for this cause our divines did admonish the churches thus:

First, that our works cannot reconcile God, or deserve the remission of sins, grace, and justification at His hands, but that these we obtain by grace merely, when we believe that we are received into favor for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed the Mediator and Propitiary, by whom the Father is reconciled. Therefore, he that trusteth by his works to merit grace, doth despise the merit and grace of Christ, and seeketh by his own power, without Christ, to come unto the Father; whereas Christ hath said expressly of Himself, "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John xiv. 6).

This doctrine of faith is handled by Paul nearly every where: "By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God, not of works" (Eph. ii. 8, 9). And lest any here should object that we bring in a new interpretation, this whole cause is supported by testimonies of the Fathers. Augustine in many volumes doth defend grace, and the righteousness of faith, against the merit of works. The same doth Ambrose teach in his work, *De Vocatione Gentium,* and elsewhere; for of the calling of the Gentiles he saith thus: "The redemption made by the blood of Christ would be of small account, and the prerogative of man's works would not give place to the mercy of God, if the justification which is by grace were due to merits going before; so as it should not be the liberality of the giver, but the wages or hire of the laborer."

This doctrine, though it be despised by the unskillful, godly and

fearful consciences find by experience that it bringeth great comfort: for consciences can not be quieted by any works, but by faith only, when they believe assuredly that they have a God who is propiated for Christ's sake; as Paul teacheth, "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God" (Rom. v. 1). This doctrine doth belong entirely to the struggles of a troubled conscience; and not not be understood, but where the conscience has felt that conflict. Wherefore, those who have had no experience thereof, and all that are profane men, who dream that Christian righteousness is nothing else than a civil and philosophical righteousness, are poor judges of this matter.

In former times men's consciences were perplexed with the doctrine of works; they did not find any comfort out of the Gospel. Whereupon consciences drove some into the desert, some into monasteries, hoping there to merit grace by a monastical life. Others devised other works, whereby to merit grace, and atone for sin. There was very great need, therefore, to teach and renew this doctrine of faith in Christ; to the end that fearful consciences might not want for comfort, but might know that grace, and forgiveness of sins, and justification, are received by faith in Jesus Christ.

We teach men another thing, which is that in this place the name of *Faith* doth not only mean a knowledge of the history, which may be in the wicked, and in the devil, but that it signifieth a faith which believeth, not alone the history, but also the effect of the history; to wit, the article of the remission of sins; namely, that by Christ we have grace, righteousness, and the remission of our sins. Now he that knoweth that he hath the Father merciful to him through Christ, this man knoweth God truly; he knoweth that God hath a care of him; he loveth God, and calleth upon Him; and hence he is not without God, as are the Gentiles. For the devils and the wicked can not believe this article of the forgiveness of sins; and consequently they hate God as their enemy; they call not upon him, nor look for good things from Him. In this manner doth Augustine admonish the reader touching the name of Faith, and teacheth that this word Faith is taken from the Scriptures, not for such a knowledge as is in the wicked, but for a trust, which doth console and lift up troubled minds.

Moreover, ours teach that it is necessary to do good works; not that we may trust that we merit grace by them, but because it is God's will that we should do them. By faith alone is apprehended remission of sins and grace. And because the Holy Ghost is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so take on new affections, and

are thus able to bring forth good works. For Ambrose saith thus: "Faith is the begetter of a good will and of good actions." For man's powers, without the Holy Ghost, are full of wicked affections, and are too feeble to perform any good work before God. For they are in the devil's power, who driveth men onward into numerous sins, into profane opinions, and into heinous crimes; as was to be seen in the philosophers, who, attempting to live an honest life, could not attain unto it, but were defiled with many heinous crimes. Such is the weakness of man, when he is without faith and the Holy Spirit, and hath no guide but the natural powers of man.

Hereby every one may see that this doctrine is not to be accused of forbidding good works; but on the other hand is much to be commended, because it showeth after what sort we must do good works. For without faith the nature of man can by no means perform the works of the First or Second Table. Without faith, it can not call upon God, hope in God, bear the cross; but seeketh help from man, and trusteth in his help. Thus it cometh to pass that all lusts and human counsel hold sway in the heart as long as faith and trust in God are wanting.

Wherefore, also, Christ saith, "Without me ye can do nothing" (John xv. 5), and the Church singeth, "Without thy power is naught in man, naught that is innocent."

Art. XXI. Of the Worship of Saints.

Touching the worship of saints, they teach that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works according to our calling; as the emperor may follow David's example in making war to drive the Turks from his country; for either of them is a king. But Scripture teaches not to invocate saints, or to ask help of them, because it teaches there is one Christ the Mediator, High-Priest and Intercessor. This Christ is to be invocated, and he hath promised to hear our prayers, and liketh this worship especially, to wit, that he be invocated in all our afflictions. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ the righteous" (1 John ii. 1).

Art. XXII.

This is about the sum of doctrine among us, in which can be seen there is nothing that is discrepant with the Scriptures, or with the Church Catholic, or even with the Roman Church, so far as that Church is known from writers [the writings of the Fathers]. This being the case, they judge us harshly who insist that we be regarded

as heretics. But the dissension concerns certain [traditions and] abuses, which without any certain authority have crept into the churches; concerning which things, even if there were a difference, still it would be a becoming lenity on the part of the bishops if, on account of the Confession which we have presented, they would bear with us, since not even the Canons are so severe as to demand the same rites every where, nor were the rites of all churches ever the same; although among us in large part the ancient rites are diligently observed. For it is a calumny that all ceremonies, all things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches. But the public complaint was that certain abuses were connected with the rites in common use. These, because they could not conscientiously be approved, have to a certain extent been corrected.

Part Second.

ARTICLES IN WHICH ARE RECOUNTED THE ABUSES WHICH HAVE BEEN CORRECTED

Inasmuch as the churches amoug us dissent in no article of faith [the holy Scriptures, or] the Church Catholic [the Universal Christian Church], and omit only a few of certain abuses, which are unique [in part have crept in with time, in part introduced with violence], and, contrary to the design of the Canons, have been received by the fault of the times, we beseech that Your Imperial Majesty would clemently hear both what ought to be changed and what the reasons are that people ought not to be forced against their consciences to observe those abuses.

Nor should your Imperial Majesty have faith in those who, that they may inflame the hatred of men against us, scatter amazing slanders among the people. In this way, the minds of good men being angered at the outset, they gave occasion to this dissension, and by the same arts they now endeavor to increase the discord. For without a doubt Your Imperial Majesty will find that the form, both of the doctrines and ceremonies, among us is far more tolerable than that which these wicked and malicious men describe. Moreover, the truth, can not be gleaned from common rumors, and the reproaches of enemies. But it is easy to judge that nothing is more conducive to preserve the dignity of ceremonies and to nurture reverence and piety among the

people than that the ceremonies should be rightly performed in the churches.

Art. II. Of the Marriage of Priests.

There was a universal complaint of the examples of such priests as were not temperate. For which cause Pope Pius is reported to have said, that "there were certain causes for which marriage was forbidden to priests, but there were many weightier causes why it should be permitted again;" for so Platina writeth. Whereas, therefore, the priests in our midst seek to avoid these public offenses, and have taught that it is lawful for them to enter into marriage. First, because that Paul saith, "To avoid fornication, let every man have his wife;" again, "It is better to marry than to burn" (1 Cor. vii. 2, 9). Secondly, Christ saith, "All men can not receive this word" (Matt. xix. 11); where He showeth that all men are not fit for a single life, because that God created mankind male and female (Gen. i. 28). Nor is it in man's power, without a special gift and work of God, to alter his creation. Therefore such as are not meet for a single life should contract marriage. For no law of man, no vow, can take away the commandment of God and His ordinance. By these reasons the priests do prove that they may lawfully take wives. And it is well known that in the ancient churches priests were married. For Paul hath said, "That a bishop must be chosen which is a husband." (1 Tim. iii. 2). And in Germany, not until four hundred years ago, the priests were compelled by violence to live a single life; who then were so wholly determined in this matter that the Archbishop of Mentz, being about to publish the Pope of Rome's decree to that effect, was almost murdered in a tumult by the priests in their anger. And the matter was dealt with so rudely, that not only were marriages forbidden for the time to come, but such as were then contracted were broken asunder, contrary to all laws diviine and human, contrary to the Canons themselves, that had been made not only by popes but by most famous Councils. And seeing that, as the world decayeth, man's nature little by little waxeth weaker, it is well to look to it, that no more vices spread o'er Germany. Furthermore, God ordained marriage as a remedy for man's infirmity. The Canons themselves do say that the old rigor is now and then in latter times to be released because of man's weakness. Which it were to be hoped might be done in this matter also. And if marriage be forbidden longer, the churches may at length want pastors.

Seeing, then, that this is a plain commandment of God; seeing

the use of the Church is well known; seeing that impure single life bringeth forth many great offenses, adulteries, and other enormities worthy to be punished by the godly magistrate, it is a wonder that greater cruelty should be shown in no other thing than against the marriage of priests. God hath commanded to honor marriage; the laws in all well-ordered communities, even among heathens, have invested marriage with very great honors. But now men are cruelly put to death, and priests also, contrary to the mind of the Canons, for no other cause than marriage. Paul calleth that "a doctrine of devils" which forbiddeth marriage (1 Tim. iv. 1, 3); which may now very readily be seen, since the forbidding of marriage is maintained by such punishments.

And as no law of man can take away the law of God neither can any vow whatsoever. Therefore Cyprian also giveth counsel, that those women should marry who do not keep their vowed chastity. These are his words, in the First Book, the 2d Epistle: "If they will not, or are not able to endure, it is far better that they should marry than that they should fall into the fire by their importunae desires. In any wise let them give no offense to their brethren or sisters." Yea, even the Canons show some sort of justice towards such as before their ripe years did vow chastity, as heretofore the use hath for the most part been.

Art. III. Of the Mass.

Our churches are wrongfully accused of having abolished the Mass. For the Mass is still retained among us, and celebrated with great reverence; yea, and almost all the ceremonies that are in use, except that with the things sung in Latin, we mingle certain things sung in German at various parts of the service, which are added for the people's instruction. For therefore alone we have need of ceremonies, that we may instruct the unlearned.

This is not only commanded by St. Paul, to use a tongue that the people understand (1 Cor. xiv. 9), but man's law hath also appointed it. We accustom the people to receive the Sacrament in a body, if any be found fit thereunto; and that is a thing that doth increase the reverence and estimation of the public ceremonies. For none are admitted, except they be first proved. Besides, we put men in mind of the worthiness and use of the Sacrament, what great comfort it bringeth to timid consciences; that they may learn to believe God, and to look for and crave all good things from Him.

This worship pleases God; such a use of the Sacrament doth

nourish piety towards Him. Therefore it seemeth not that Masses be more religiously celebrated among our adversaries than with us.

But it is evident that for long this hath been the public and most grievous complaint of all good men, that Masses are basely profaned, being used for gain. And it is not unknown to what extent this abuse hath spread itself in all churches; of what manner of men Masses are used, only for reward, or for wages; and how many do use them against the prohibition of the Canons. But Paul doth grievously threaten those that use the Lord's Supper unworthily, when he says, "He that eateth this bread or drinketh this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord" (1 Cor. xi. 27). Therefore, when the priests among us were admonished of this sin, private Masses were discontinued among us, seeing that for the most part there were no private Masses but for the sake of lucre. Nor were the bishops in ignorance of these abuses, and if they had amended them in time there would now be less of dissension. Heretofore, by their dissembling, they allowed much corruption to creep into the Church; now they begin, though late, to complain of the calamities of the Church; seeing that this tumult was raised by no other means than by those abuses, which were so evident that they could no longer be tolerated. There were numerous dissensions, concerning the Mass and the Sacrament. And perhaps the world is punished for so long a profaning of Masses, which they, who could and ought to have amended it, have so long tolerated in the churches. For in the Ten Commandments it is written, "He that taketh in vain the name of the Lord shall not be held guiltless" (Exod. xx. 7). And from the beginning of the world there neither was nor is any divine thing which seems so to have been employed for gain as the Mass.

There was added an opinion which increased private Masses infinitely: to wit, that Christ by His passion did satisfy for original sin, and appointed the Mass, wherein an oblation should be made for daily sins, both mortal and venial. Whereupon a common opinion was received, that the Mass is a work that taketh away the sins of the living and the dead, and that for the doing of the work. Then men began to dispute whether one Mass said for many were of as great force as particular Masses said for particular persons. The disputation hath brought forth that infinite multitude of Masses. Our preachers have admonished concerning these opinions that they depart from the holy Scriptures, and diminish the glory of the passion of Christ. For the passion of Christ was an oblation and satisfaction, not only for original

sin, but also for all other sins; and it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews (x. 10): "We are sanctified by the oblation of Jesus Christ once made;" also, "By one oblation he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified" (Heb. x. 14). The Scripture also teaches that we are justified before God through faith in Christ, when we believe that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake. Now, if the Mass does take away the sins of the living and the dead, even for the work's sake that is done, then justification cometh by the work of Masses, and not by faith; which the Scripture can not endure. But Christ commandeth us "to do it remembrance of himself" (Luke xxii. 19), therefore the Mass has been instituted that faith in them which use the Sacrament may remember what benefits it receiveth by Christ, and that it may raise and comfort the fearful conscience. For this is to remember Christ, to wit, to remember his benefits, and to feel and perceive that they be indeed imparted to us. Nor is to enough to call to mind the history; because that the Jews also and the wicked can do. Therefore the Mass must be used for this purpose, that there the Sacrament may be reached unto them that have need of comfort; as Ambrose saith, "Because I do always sin, therefore I ought always to receive the medicine."

And seeing that the Mass is such a communion of the Sacrament, we do observe one common Mass on every holiday, and on other days, if any will use the Sacrament, at which times it is offered to those that desire it. Nor is this custom newly brought into the Church. For the ancients, before Gregory's time, make no mention of any private Mass; of the common Mass they often speak. Chrysostom saith that, "the priest doth daily stand at the altar, and call some unto the Communion, and put back others." And by the ancient Canons it is evident that some one did celebrate the Mass, of whom the other elders and deacons did receive the body of our Lord. For so the words of the Nicene Canon do sound: "Let the deacons in their order, after the elders, receive the holy Communion of a bishop, or of an elder." And Paul, concerning the Communion, commandeth, "that one tarry for another" (1 Cor. xi. 33), that thus there may be a common participation.

Therefore, seeing that the Mass amongst us hath the example of the Church, out of the Scripture, and the Fathers, we trust that it can not be disapproved; especially since our public ceremonies are kept, for the most part, like unto the usual ceremonies; only the number of the Masses is not the same, which, by reason of very great and manifest abuses, it were certainly far better to be moderated. For in times past

also, in churches whereunto was greatest resort, it was not usual to have Mass every day, as the Tripartite History, lib. ix. cap. 38, doth testify. "Again," saith it, "in Alexandria, every fourth and sixth day of the week the Scriptures are read, and the doctors do interpret them; and all other things are done also, except only the celebration of the Eucharist."

Art. IV. Of Confession.

Confession is not abolished in our churches. For it is not usual to communicate the body of our Lord but to those who have been previously examined and absolved. And the people are taught most carefully concerning the faith required to absolution, about which before this time there has been deep silence. Men are taught to highly regard absolution, inasmuch as it is God's voice, and pronounced by God's command.

The power of the keys is honored, and mention is made how great comfort it brings to fearful consciences, and that God requires faith that we believe that absolution is a voice sounding from heaven, and that this faith in Christ really obtains and receives the remission of sins.

Aforetime satisfactions were immoderately extolled; of faith, and the merit of Christ, and justification by faith, no mention was made. Wherefore on this point our churches are by no means to blame. For this even our adversaries are compelled to concede in regard to us, that the doctrine of repentance is most diligently treated and laid open by us.

But of Confession our churches teach that the enumerating of sins is not necessary, nor are our consciences to be burdened with the cares of enumerating all sins, as it is impossible to name all sins, as the Psalm testifies: "Who can understand his errors?" So also Jeremiah (xvii. 9): "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. Who can know it?" But if no sins were remitted but what were recounted, consciences could never find rest, because very many sins they neither see nor can remember.

The ancient writers likewise testify that the enumeration is not necessary. For in the Decrees Chrysostom is cited, who thus speaks: "I do not say to thee that thou shouldst discover thyself in public, or accuse thyself before others, but I would have thee obey the prophet when he says: 'Reveal thy way unto the Lord.' Therefore with prayer confess thy sins before God, the true Judge. Pronounce thine errors, not with the tongue, but with the memory of thy conscience." And the Gloss (*Of Repentance,* Dist. V., Chap. *Consideret*), admits

that Confession is of human right only [is not commanded in Scripture, but has been instituted by the Church].

Notwithstanding, on account of the very great benefit of absolution, as well as for other uses to the conscience, we retain Confession among us.

Art. VI. Of Monastic Vows.

What is taught among us concerning the Vows of Monks will be better understood if one call to mind what was the state of monasteries, and how many acts were every day committed in the monasteries contrary to the Canons. In Augustine's time cloister-fraternities were free; but later, when discipline was corrupted, vows were every where laid upon them, that, as it were in a newly devised prison, the discipline might again be restored.

Over and besides vows many other observances little by little were added. And these bands and snares were laid upon many, before they came to ripe years, and contrary to the Canons.

Many through error fell into this kind of life unawares, who, though they wanted not years, yet were wanting in discretion to judge of their strength and ability. They who were once got within these nets were constrained to abide in them, though, by the benefits of the Canons, some might be set at liberty. And that fell out rather in the monasteries of nuns than of monks, though the weaker sex ought more to have been spared.

The rigor and severity displeased many good men heretofore, when they saw young maids and young men shoved into monasteries, there to get their living. They saw the unhappy issue this counsel had, what offenses it bred, and what snares it laid upon consciences. They were grieved that the authority of the Canons was entirely neglected and contemned in a thing so dangerous.

To all these evils there was added such a persuasion concerning vows as did in former times, it is well known, displease the monks themselves, if any were somewhat wiser than the rest. They taught that vows were equal to baptism; they taught that by this sort of life they obtained the remission of sins and justification before God; yea, they added that the monk's life did not only merit righteousness in the sight of God, but more than that, because it observed not only the commandments, but likewise the counsels of the Gospel. And thus they taught that the monk's profession was better than baptism; that the monk's life did merit more than the life of magistrates, of pastors, and such like, who, in obedience to God's commandment, followed

their vocation without any such religions of man's making.

None of these things can be denied; they can be seen in their writings.

What occurred later in the monasteries? In olden time they were schools for the study of sacred letters, and other branches of learning, which were profitable to the Church; and thence were pastors and bishops taken; but now the case is changed. It is needless to rehearse what is notorious. In olden times they came together into such places to learn; but now they feign that it is a kind of life taken up to merit remission of sins and justification; yea, they say it is a state of perfection, and prefer it to all other kinds of life, the kinds ordained by God.

We have therefore mentioned these things, not to excite odium, exaggerating nothing, to the end that the doctrine of our churches concerning this subject, might be understood.

First, concerning such as contract marriage, thus they teach among us: that it is lawful for those to marry who are not adapted to a single life; forasmuch as vows cannot take away God's ordinance and commandment. The commandment of God is, "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife" (1 Cor. vii. 2.). And not alone the commandment, but also the creation and ordinance of God, compelleth such unto marriage as without the special work of God are not exempted; in accordance with that saying, "It is not good for a man to be alone" (Gen. ii. 18). They, therefore, that obey this commandment and ordinance of God do not err.

What can be said against these things? Let a man exaggerate the bond of a vow as much as he will, still he can not bring to pass that the vow shall take away the commandment of God. The Canons teach, "that in every vow the right of the superior is excepted;" much less, therefore, can these vows, which are contrary to God's commandment, be of force.

If it be so that the obligation of vows has no causes why it might be changed, then could not the Roman pontiffs have dispensed with them. For neither is it lawful for man to disannul that bond which doth simply belong to the law of God. But the Roman pontiffs have judged very wisely, that in this obligation equity must be used; therefore they often, as we read, have dispensed with vows. The history of the king of Arragon, being called back out of a monastery, is well known; and in our own time there are examples.

Second, why do our adversaries exaggerate the obligation or

effect of the vow, when in the meantime they speak not a word of the very nature of a vow, that it ought to be in a thing possible, voluntary, and taken up of a man's free will, and with deliberation? But it is not unknown how far perpetual chastity is in the power of man. And how many a one among them is there that doth vow of his own accord and well advised? Maidens and youths are persuaded, before they know how to judge, yea, sometimes also compelled to vow.

Wherefore it is not right to dispute so rigorously of the obligation, seeing that all men admit that it is against the nature of a vow, that it is not done of a man's own accord, nor advisedly.

The Canons for the most part disannual vows made before fifteen years old; because before one comes to that age there seemeth not to be so much judgment to determine concerning a perpetual life. Another Canon, allowing more to the weakness of men, doth add some years more; for it forbiddeth a vow to be made before one reaches the eighteenth year. But which of these shall be followed? The greater part have this excuse for forsaking monasteries, for most of them vowed before they came of age.

Lastly, even though the breaking of a vow were reprehended, yet it seems not to follow directly that the marriages of such persons are to be dissolved. For Augustine, in his 27th quest. 1st chap. *Of Marriages,* doth deny that they should be dissolved; and his authority is not lightly to be esteemed, although others later have thought differently.

And though the commandment of God concerning wedlock doth free most men from vows, yet our teachers do also bring another reason regarding vows, to prove that they are void: because that all the worship of God, instituted by men without the commandment of God, and chosen to obtain remission of sins and justification, is wicked; as Christ saith: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" (Matt. xv. 9). And Paul doth everywhere teach that righteousness is not to be sought of our own observances, and services which are devised by men; but that it cometh by faith to such that believe they are received into favor by Him for Christ's sake.

But it is evident that the monks did teach that these spurious religions satisfy for sins, and merit grace and justification. What else is this than to detract from the glory of Christ, and to obscure and deny the righteousness of faith? Wherefore it followeth that these common vows were wicked services, and are therefore null. For a

wicked vow, and that which is made against the commandment of God, is of no force; nor, as the Canon saith, ought a vow to be a bond of iniquity.

Paul saith, "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace" (Gal. v. 4). They, therefore, who wish to be justified by vows, are made void of Christ, and fall from grace. For they who attribute justification to their vows, attribute to their own acts what justly belongs to the glory of Christ. Nor truly can it be denied that the monks taught that they are justified by their vows and observances, and merit the remission of sins; nay, they invented even greater absurdities, and said they were able to transfer their good works to others. If any man wished to expand these things, so as to excite odium, how many things might he rehearse whereof the monks themselves are now ashamed.

Moreover, they would persuade men that these invented religious orders are a state of Christian perfection. And is this not attributing justification to works? It is no small offense in the Church to propound unto the people a certain service devised by men, without the commandment of God, and to teach that such a service doth justify men; because that the righteousness of faith, which ought especially to be taught in the Church, is obscured, when those marvelous religions of the angels, the pretense of poverty and humility, and celibacy, are spread before men's eyes.

Further, the commandments of God, and His true worship, are obscured when men hear that monks alone are in that state of perfection; because Christian perfection is to fear God sincerely, and again, to conceive great faith, and to trust assuredly that God is reconciled towards us for Christ's sake; to ask, and certainly expect, help from God in all things, according to our calling; and outwardly to do good works diligently, and to attend to our vocation. In these things doth true perfection and true worship of God consist: it doth not consist in singleness of life, in poverty, or in vile apparel.

The people doth also conceive many pernicious opinions from these false commendations of the life in the monastery. They hear celibacy praised above measure; therefore with offense of conscience they live in wedlock. They hear that mendicants alone are perfect; hence with offense of conscience they keep their possessions, and buy and sell. They hear that the Gospel alone giveth counsel not to take revenge; therefore some in private life are not afraid to avenge them-

selves; for they hear that it is a counsel, not a command. Others think that all magistracy and civil offices are unworthy Christian men.

We read examples of men who, forsaking wedlock, and leaving the government of the commonwealth, have hid themselves in the monastery. This they called flying out of the world, and seeking a sort of life which is more acceptable to God; nor did they see that God is to be served in those commandments which He Himself hath delivered, not in the commandments which have been devised by men. That is a good and perfect kind of life which hath been commanded by God; it is necessary to admonish men of these things. And before these times Gerson did reprehend this error of the monks concerning perfection; and witnesseth, that in his time this was a new saying, that the monastic life is a state of perfection.

Thus many wicked opinions cleave fast to vows: as that they merit remission of sins and justification, that they are Christian perfection, that they do keep the counsels and commandments, that they have works of supererogation. All these things (being false and vain) make vows to be of no effect.

Art. VII. Of Ecclesiastical Power.

There have been great controversies upon the power of bishops, in which many have disadvantageously mingled the ecclesiastical power and the power of the sword.

And from this confusion there have sprung many great wars and tumults, while that the pontiffs, trusting in the power of the keys, have not only applied new kinds of service, and burdened men's consciences by reserving of cases, and violent excommunications; but have also endeavored to transfer worldly kingdoms from one to another, and to despoil emperors of their power and authority.

These errors did godly and learned men long since reprehend in the Church; and for that reason our teachers were compelled, for the comfort of men's consciences, to show the difference between the ecclesiastical power and that of the sword. And they have taught that both of them, because of God's commandment, are dutifully to be reverenced and honored, as the greatest blessings of God upon earth.

Now their judgment is this: that the power of the keys, or the power of bishops, by the rule of the Gospel, is a power or commandment from God, of preaching the Gospel, of remitting or retaining sins, and of administering the Sacraments. For Christ doth send His Apostles with this charge: "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whosesoever sins ye remit,

they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained" (John xx. 21-23). "Go, and preach the Gospel to every creature," etc. (Mark xvi. 15).

This power is put into execution either by teaching or preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments, to many or to single individuals, according to their call. For thereby not corporal things, but eternal, are granted; as an eternal righteousness, the Holy Spirit, life everlasting. These things cannot be obtained but by the ministry of the Word and of the Sacraments, as Paul saith, "The Gospel is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth" (Rom. i. 16).

Finding, then, that the ecclesiastical power concerneth things eternal, and is exercised only by the ministry of the Word, it interfereth not with the political government any more than the art of singing hinders political government. For the political administration is occupied about other matters than is the Gospel. The magistracy defends not the minds, but the bodies, and bodily things, against manifest injuries; and coerces men by the sword and corporal punishments, thus upholding civil justice and peace.

Wherefore the ecclesiastical and civil powers are not to be confused. The ecclesiastical power hath its own commandment to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments. Let it not by force enter into the office of another; let it not transfer worldly kingdoms; let it not abrogate the magistrates' laws; let it not withdraw from them lawful obedience; let it not hinder judgments concerning civil ordinances or contracts; let it not prescribe laws to the magistrate touching the form of the republic; as Christ saith, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John xviii. 36). Again, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" (Luke xii. 14). And Paul saith, "Our conversation [citizenship] is in heaven" (Phil. iii. 20). "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, casting down imaginations," etc. (2 Cor. x. 4). In this way do our teachers distinguish between the duties of each power one from another, and do warn all men to honor both powers, and to acknowledge both to be the [highest] gift and blessing of God.

If it be so that the bishops have any power of the sword, they have it not as bishops by the commandment of the Gospel, but by man's law given unto them by kings and emperors for the civil government of their goods. This, however, is a kind of function diverse from the ministry of the Gospel.

Therefore, when the question concerns the jurisdiction of bishops,

government must be distinguished from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Again, by the Gospel, or, as they call it, by divine right, bishops, as bishops—meaning those who have the administration of the Word and Sacraments committed to them—have no other jurisdiction at all, but alone to remit sin, also to take cognizance of, that is, to judge regarding, doctrine, and to reject doctrine not consistent with the Gospel, and to exclude from the communion of the Church, without human force, but by the Word of God, those whose wickedness is known; and herein of necessity the churches ought by divine right to render obedience unto them, according to the saying of Christ, "He that heareth you heareth me" (Luke x. 16).

But when they teach or decide on anything contrary to the Gospel, then the churches have a commandment of God, which forbiddeth obedience to them: "Beware of false prophets" (Matt. vii. 15.) "If an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel, let him be accursed" (Gal. i. 8). "We can not do any thing against the truth, but for the truth" (2 Cor. xiii. 8). Also, "This power is given us to edify, and not to destroy" (2 Cor. xiii. 10). So do the Canons command (II. *Quaest.* 6, *Cap. Sacerdotes,* and *Cap. Oves*). And Augustine, in his *Treatise against Petilian's Epistle,* saith, "Neither must we subscribe to Catholic bishops, if they chance to err, or determine any thing contrary to the canonical divine Scriptures."

If it be so that they have any other power or jurisdiction, in hearing and understanding certain cases, as, namely, of matrimony, tithes, etc., they hold it by human right. But when the ordinaries fail to attend to this office, princes are constrained, whether they wish to do so or not, to declare such law to their subjects, to maintain the peace.

Besides these things, there is a controversy as to whether bishops or pastors have the power to institute ceremonies in the Church, and to make laws concerning meats, holidays, and degrees, or orders of ministers, and so forth. They that ascribe this power to bishops allege this testimony in support of it: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye can not bear them now; but when that Spirit of truth shall come, he shall teach you all truth" (John xvi. 12, 13). They also allege the examples of the Apostles, who commanded to abstain from blood, and that which was strangled (Acts xv. 29). They allege the changing of the Sabbath into the Lord's day, contrary, as it seemeth, to the Decalogue; and they have no example more in their mouths than the change of the Sabbath. They will needs have

the power to be very great, because it hath done away with a precept of the Decalogue.

But of this question thus do ours teach: that the bishops have not the power to ordain anything contrary to the Gospel, as was showed before. Likewise do the Canons teach: *Distinct.* 9. Moreover, it is contrary to Scripture to ordain or require the observance of any traditions, to the end that we may merit remission of sins, and satisfy for sins through them. For the glory of Christ's merit suffers when we seek by such observances to merit justification. And it is very apparent that through this persuasion traditions grew into infinite numbers in the Church. In the meantime, the doctrine concerning faith, and the righteousness of faith, was entirely suppressed, for thereupon there were no new holidays made, new fasts appointed, new ceremonies, new worships for saints instituted; because the authors of these things supposed by such works to obtain grace. In like manner heretofore did the Penitential Canons increase, of which we still see some traces in satisfactions.

Moreover, the authors of traditions do contrary to God's command when they find matters of sin in foods, in days, and such things, and burden the Church with the servitude of the law, as if there should be among Christians, in order to merit justification, a service like the Levitical, the ordination of which God has committed to the Apostles and bishops. For this some of them write, and the pontiffs to some extent seem to be misled by the example of the Law of Moses. From hence are those burdens, that it is mortal sin even without offending others, to do manual labor on the festivals, that it is mortal sin to omit the Canonical Hours, that certain foods defile the conscience, that fastings are works which satisfy God; that sin, in a reserved case, cannot be pardoned but by the authority of him that reserved it; whereas the Canons speak only of reserving of ecclesiastical penalty, and not of the reserving of the fault.

Whence, then, have the bishops the power and authority of imposing upon the churches these traditions, for the ensnaring of men's consciences, when Peter forbids (Acts xv. 10) "to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples," and St. Paul said (2 Cor. xiii. 10) that the power given to him was to edification, not to destruction? Why, then, do they increase sins by these traditions?

For there are divers clear testimonies which forbid the making of these traditions, either to obtain grace, or as things necessary to salvation. Paul saith to the Colossians, "Let no man judge you in meat,

or in drink, or in regard to a holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days" (Col. ii. 16). Again, "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances (Touch not, taste not, handle not; which all are to perish with the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men? which things indeed have a show of wisdom" (Col. ii. 20-23). And to Titus doth he clearly forbid traditions; for he saith, "Not giving heed to Jewish fables, and to commandments of men, that turn from the truth" (Tit. i. 14). And Christ saith of them which urge traditions, "Let them alone; they be blind leaders of the blind" (Matt. xv. 14). And he condemneth such services: "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up" (ver. 13).

If bishops have authority to burden the churches with numerous traditions, and to ensnare men's consciences, why doth the Scripture so often forbid to make and to listen to traditions? Why doth it call them the doctrines of devils? (1 Tim. iv. 1.) Hath the Holy Spirit warned us of them to no purpose?

It remaineth, then, that seeing ordinances, instituted as necessary, or with the opinion of meriting grace, are repugnant to the Gospel, it is unlawful for any bishops to institute or exact such worship. For it is necessary that the doctrine of Christian liberty should be maintained in the churches [Christendom]; that the bondage of the law is unnecessary unto justification, as it is written to the Galatians: "Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage" (Gal. v. 1). It is necessary that the chiefest point of all the Gospel should be holden fast, that we do freely obtain grace, by faith in Christ, not by services instituted by men.

What is, then, to be thought of the Lord's day, and like rites of temples? Hereunto they [ours] reply, that it is lawful for bishops or pastors to make ordinances whereby things may be done in order in the Church; not that by them we may merit grace, or satisfy for sins, or that men's consciences should be bound to esteem them as necessary services, and think that they err when they violate them, without offending others. So Paul ordained, "that women should cover their heads in the congregation" (1 Cor. xi. 6); "that the interpreters of Scripture should be heard in order in the Church" (1 Cor. xiv. 27), etc.

These ordinances it behooveth the churches to keep for charity and quietness' sake, so that one offend not the other, that all things may be done in order, and without disturbance in the churches

(1 Cor. xiv. 04 and Phil. ii. 14), but so that consciences be not burdened, so as to account them as things necessary to salvation, and think they sin when they violate them, without offense to others; as no one would say that a woman sins if she went into public with her hear uncovered, providing it were without the offense of men.

Such is the observance of the Lord's day, Easter, Pentecost, and other holidays and rites. For they that think that the observation of the Lord's day was appointed by the authority of the Church, instead of the Sabbath, as necessary, are greatly mistaken. The Scripture, which teacheth that all the Mosaical ceremonies can be omitted after the Gospel is revealed, has abrogated the Sababth. And still, because it was required to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they should come together, it seems that the Christian Church did for that purpose appoint the Lord's day: which for this cause also appears to have been pleasing, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the observation, neither of the Sabbath, nor of another day, was necessary.

There are certain wonderful disputations concerning the changing of the law, and the ceremonies of the new law, and the changing of the Sabbath; which all arose from the false persuasion, that there should be a ceremony in the Church, like unto the Levitical; and that Christ committed to the Apostles and bishops the devising of new ceremonies, which should be necessary to salvation. These errors crept into the Church, when the righteousness of faith was not clearly enough taught. Some dispute that the observation of the Lord's day is not indeed of the law of God, but as it were of the law of God; and touching holidays, they prescribe how far it is lawful to work in them. What else are these disputations but snares for men's consciences? For though they seek to moderate traditions, still the equity of them can never be perceived as long as the opinion of necessity remaineth; which must needs remain, where the righteousness of faith and Christian freedom are unknown.

The Apostles commanded "to abstain from blood" (Acts xv. 20). Who observeth this nowadays? And still they do not sin that do not observe it. For the Apostles themselves would not burden men's minds with such a servitude, but they forbade it for a while, for fear of scandal. For in the decree, the will of the Gospel is always to be considered.

Scarcely any Canons are precisely kept; and many grow out of use daily, yes, even among those that do most busily defend traditions.

Nor can there be sufficient care had of men's consciences, except this equity be kept, that men should know that such rites are not to be observed with any opinion of necessity, and that men's consciences are not harmed, though traditions grow out of use.

The bishops might easily retain lawful obedience, if they would not urge men to observe such traditions as cannot be kept with a good conscience. Now they command single life; and they admit none, except they will swear not to teach the pure doctrine of the Gospel. The churches do not desire of the bishops that they would repair peace and concord with the loss of their honor (which yet good pastors should do): they merely desire that they should remit unjust burdens, which are both new and received contrary to the custom of the Catholic [Christian Universal] Church. It may well be that some constitutions had some probable reasons when they began, which yet will not agree to latter times. It is plain that some were received through error. Wherefore it were a matter for the pontifical gentleness to mitigate them now; for such a change would not overthrow the unity of the Church. For numerous human traditions have been changed in time, as the Canons themselves declare. But if it can not be obtained that those observances may be relaxed which can not be kept without sin, then must we follow the rule of the Apostles, which willeth "to obey God rather than men" (Acts v. 29).

Peter forbiddeth bishops to be lords, and to be imperious over the churches (1 Pet. v. 3). Now our meaning is not to have rule taken from the bishops; but this one thing alone is requested at their hands, that they would suffer the Gospel to be purely taught, and would relax a few of the observances, which cannot be held without sin. But if they will remit none, let them look how they will give account to God for it, that by their stubbornness they afford cause of schism [division and schism, which it were yet fit they should aid in avoiding].

Conclusion

These are the principal articles which seem to be matters of controversy. For although we might speak of more abuses, yet that we may avoid undue length we have embraced a few, whereby it is easy to judge of the balance. Great have been the complaints about indulgences, about pilgrimages, about the abuse of excommunication. The parishes have been vexed in many ways by the *stationarii*. Endless disputes have arisen between the pastors and the monks about paro-

chial law, about confession, about burials, about sermons on extraordinary occasions, and about numerous other things. Things of this kind we pass over, that those which are chief in this matter, being briefly set forth, may more easily be noted. Nor has anything been here said or adduced for the purpose of casting reproach on any one. Those things only have been enumerated which it appeared necessary to say, that it might be understood that in doctrine and ceremonials among us there is nothing received contrary to the Scripture or to the Catholic [Universal Christian] Church, inasmuch as it is manifest that we have diligently taken heed that no new and godless doctrines could creep into our churches.

According to the edict of His Imperial Majesty, we wish to present these articles above written, in which is our Confession, and in which can be seen a summary of the doctrine of those who teach among us. If anything be lacking in this Confession, we are prepared, God willing, to present fuller information, in accordance with the Scriptures.

Your Imperial Majesty's most faithful and humble,

JOHN, Duke of Saxony, Elector.
GEORGE, Margrave of Brandenburg.
ERNEST, Duke of Luneburg.
PHILIP, Landgrave of Hesse.
JOHN FREDERICK, Duke of Saxony.
FRANCIS, Duke of Luneburg.
WOLFGANG, Prince of Anhalt.
SENATE and MAGISTRACY of Nuremberg.
SENATE of Reutlingen.

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LOYOLA AND THE JESUITS

ST. IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA was born in the province of Guipuzcoa, Spain, in 1491. His family was a noble one. In 1521 he was wounded and captured at the siege of Pampeluna, but sent home by his captors. While here he became interested in a religious life. He went to Jerusalem to convert the Mohammedans, but was compelled to return by the Franciscan provincial. Then he took up the study of Latin at Barcelona and in 1526 attended the new university of Alcala. Here he began to formulate his idea for a society on different lines from those of the monks.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA

Engraved after a painting by Rubens.

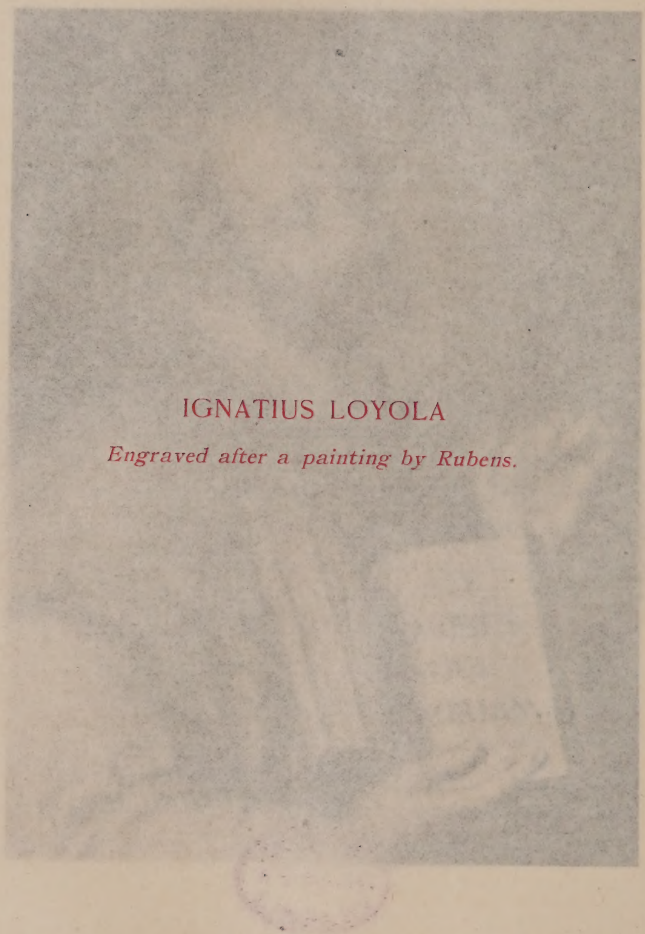
When the Reformation began to spread over northern Europe, there was no active missionary force in the Catholic church to oppose it. The idea of the monasteries was to draw men from the world and let them busy themselves in their own salvation in seclusion. Loyola formed an order to be sent out into the world to be active missionaries of the Catholic Church.

The foundation of the society was laid by the constitution drawn up by Loyola and approved by Pope Paul III. in 1540. Loyola was chosen to be the first general of the society. The original powers granted were greatly enlarged in 1546.

The efforts of the society have been exerted chiefly through direct missionary efforts and education. The members are under the military-like command of their superior, and are liable to be sent to any part of the world. The influence of this company has been enormous. The conversion of heathen to Catholicism has been done mostly by them, and they have been the most powerful influence in preserving southern Europe to the Roman church.

They have been fiercely attacked by Protestants and their great power has at times caused jealousy in the Roman church itself, but it is unquestionable that they greatly aided to save the church when the old monastic orders were retiring, and from their very nature, helpless.

Loyola died in 1556.



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CONSTITUTION OF THE JESUITS

BULL OF SEPT. 27, 1540

THE PLAN of the proposed rule follows and is this:

In our society, which we wish to be called by the name Jesus, let whoever desires to fight under the sacred banner of the Cross, and to serve only God and the Roman pontiff, His vicar on earth, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity,—let him keep in mind that he is part of a society, instituted for the purpose of perfecting souls in life and in Christian doctrine, for the propagation of the faith through public preaching, ministering the word of God, spiritual macerations, works of charity, and especially through the teaching of the young and uninstructed in the Christian precepts; and lastly for giving consolation to believers in hearing their confessions. Let him think first of God, then of the rule of this order, which is the way to Him; and let him follow after the end proposed by God with all his strength. Let each one, nevertheless, rest in the grace given him by the Holy Spirit, and in the proper grade of his calling, and lest anyone use zeal but not discretion, let the deciding of the grade of each, of the offices, and whole arrangement be in the hands of the general or prelate selected through us, in order that the harmony so necessary in all well-governed institutions may be preserved.

Let this general, with the council of his associates, have the power in council to draw up rules suitable for the end proposed, the majority of all voters of the society always having the right of deciding. Let it be understood that there be consultation in regard to the more important or permanent questions, the majority of the whole society, that can conveniently be convoked; in the case of less important or transient matters, all those that are present where the general lives. The right of carrying out laws, however, belongs only to the general.

Let all members know, and let it be not only at the beginning of their profession, but let them think over it daily as long as they live, that the society as a whole, and each of them, owes obedience to our most holy lord, the pope, and the other Roman pontiffs, his successors,

and to fight with faithful obedience for God. And however much he may be learned in the Gospel, and however we may be taught in the orthodox faith, let all Christians profess themeslves under the Roman pontiff as leader, and vicar of Jesus Christ. For the greater humility of our society, and toward the complete self-mortification of each one, and in order to aid the abnegation of our own wills to the greatest extent, let each one, besides that common obligation, be devoted to this by special vow. So that whatever the present or other Roman pontiffs order that concerns the saving of souls and the spread of the faith, and to whatever provinces he shall wish to send us, this let us strive to accomplish as far as in us lies, without any turning back or excuse; whether he shall send us to the Turks, or to any other infidels, even those living in the lands that are called the Indies; or to any heretics or schismatics, or believers, whatever. Wherefore let those that are about to join us consider long and well, before they put their shoulders to this task, whther they have enough grace for good deeds to mount this citadel at the command of their superiors; that is, whether the Holy Spirit that urges them promises to them enough grace to enable them with God's help to bear the weight of this calling. And after they have given their name, at the inspiration of the Lord, to the service of Jesus Christ, having thus girded up their loins, they will be prompt to fulfill this grand vow.

Lest in some way there arise ambition or jealousy in regard to such missions or provinces, let all agree never either directly or indirectly to interfere with the Roman pontiff in this regard, but let them leave all such concern to God, and to the pontiff himself, His vicar, and to the general of the society. And let the general himself promise the same as the others, not to take upon himself a mission in any direction unless by the council of the society, with the agreement of the pontiff.

Let each vow to be obedient to the general of the society in all things that concern the fulfillment of these our regulations.

Let him command what he knows to be opportune for the advancement of the ends proposed by God and the society. In issuing these commands, he shall always keep the memory of the kindness, gentleness, and love of Christ, Peter, and Paul, before him, whose example in this rule let the council carefully follow.

Let them have charge especially over the education of children and of the heathen in the Christian doctrine of the ten commandments, and like rudiments, whatever seems suitable to the circumstances of the

individuals, and of time and place. It is in fact very necessary in providing this, that the general and council look to it sharply, since it is not possible in the first place to rear an edifice without a foundation of faith, and there may be the danger that as one may be more learned than another, such a one may perchance abandon some province that seems at first sight not promising enough for him, when really no district would be more fruitful, either for instruction, or for training in charity and humility at the same time as our duties. Briefly, then, for the sake of the never enough praised exercise of humility, let them always be held to the obedience of the rule in all things concerning the institution of the society, and let them see Christ in the general as if present, and let them venerate him as is proper.

Since we know by experience that no life is happier, purer, or more apt to aid its fellow than the one most removed from all contagion of avarice, and close to holy poverty, and since we know that our Lord Jesus Christ provides necessary food and clothing for his servants seeking the kingdom of God, let each and all vow eternal poverty, and not to acquire any civil right, either personally, or for the maintenance or use of the society to any property, wherever situated, or to its income, but to be content with the use only of what is given them for meeting their own necessities.

Let them have the power, however, to have a college or colleges at the Universities, having census returns, revenues, or possessions, to be applied to the use and necessities of the students; the thing held to be under control of the general, and the society in accordance with the common government, including the superintendence of these colleges, and students, the method of the choice of governor, or governors, or students, or their admission, dismissal, recall, or expulsion; the introduction of rules for the instruction of the students, or their correction, or punishment, their clothing, and all other government, regulation and management. Nor can the students misuse the estates, nor the society turn them to its own use, but they must be used for the necessary expenses of the students. The students may, however, be admitted to the society after enough training in spirit and in letters, and a sufficient probation.

12. All members whatsoever in holy orders, even if they do not possess church benefices or the revenues of such, are to be bound each of them privately and individually, that is, not in common with others,

to repeat the services according to the rites of the church.

13. These are the rules which we have drawn up concerning our profession as a model for the approval of our aforesaid master Paul, and the Apostolic See; this we have done that by this writing we might briefly inform on the one hand those who ask concerning the nature of the life we have instituted, and on the other the future imitators of our example, if by the will of God, there should be any so disposed, how we have intended this life to be lived, since we have learned by experience how many and how great difficulties are attached thereto. No one should be admitted to this society until he has been tried and proved for a long time and very carefully. Then only may he be admitted to the service of Christ, when he has shown himself wise in the wisdom of Christ and his doctrine, and pure in Christian life; and may Christ deign to favor our weak beginnings to the glory of God the father, to whom alone be glory and honor forever in all ages. Amen.

(Papal Confirmation.)

14. But since there is nothing in the above that is not pious and holy, and since those members who have humbly petitioned us in this matter will be more zealous for a holy life if they know that they are held in the special grace of the Apostloic See, and if they see that the above rules are approved by us, we therefore from our certain knowledge approve, confirm and bless by our apostolic rules, all and singly, as being apt for the spiritual progress both of the said members and of the whole Christian flock, and we receive the same members into our special protection and that of the Holy Apostolic See, granting to them the right to establish freely and with full warrant such particular institutions among themselves as they may judge to be suited to the ends of the society, to the glory of Jesus Christ our Lord, and to the advantage of all.

15. The constitutions of the general council, and of our predecessor Pope Gregory X, of blessed memory, and all other apostolic constitutions and ordinations to the contrary notwithstanding.

16. We will, however, that in each society of this kind persons desirous of living by this rule of life to the number of sixty, and not more, may be admitted and added to the said society.

(Warning) Let no one, etc. And if anyone, etc.

Given at Rome at St. Mark's, in the year of Incarnation of our Lord 1540, the fifth before the Kalends of October, in the sixth year of our pontificate.

BULL OF OCT. 18, 1549.

Paul, bishop, servant of the servants of God.

Although we are ever attentive and well-inclined toward our duty as shepherd to all who follow the regular life, that they may be continued and encouraged in their discipline and praiseworthy life, yet, like a loving father, directing our eyes especially toward the Society of Jesus, instituted and approved by us, which by word and deed among the Christian people has brought and brings now daily, like a fertile field, so many and so rich fruits to the Lord for the glory of the Most High King and for the increase of the faith, we have thought it proper to show especial favor to this society and to its members, who serve the Most High in the odor of sweetness, and therefore to grant them special privileges by which the society may be ruled usefully and guided profitably, and may progress in the Lord for the preservation of souls.

1. Hence it is that we have yielded to the supplications of our beloved sons the recently chosen general prepositus, and the other members of that order, and have granted to the said general prepositus who holds the position at this time, since he has been elected according to the constitutions of that society, that he is to be and is to be considered the true general prepositus of that religion, with full, general, and complete care and administration of all and every thing looking and pertaining to the happy rule and prosperous direction of said society, and that he is to begin to exercise his office in all things and to have full jurisdiction over all the members of this society and over all persons living in its obedience, wherever they may dwell, whatever exemptions they may claim, whatever property they may have.

2. The said prepositus may be and ought to be removed in certain cases in accordance with the rules of the society, by persons receiving the authority for this from the society and appointed for this, and another may and ought to be substituted in his place by the same or other persons as may seem most advantageous in the Lord to the aforesaid persons.

3. And the said prepositus has full power and warrant to go himself or to send his followers to any place whatsoever, even among the heathen, and to recall them, whenever he shall judge it expedient in the Lord, and to transfer them without fixed limit of time to other

places when this shall seem to be expedient for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

4. And we determine, decree, and ordain that neither the prepositus without the consent and permission of the society, nor any of the members without the consent and permission of the prepositus may be capable of consenting to or accepting any election or provision from anyone in the dignity of bishop or archbishop or in any dignity whatsoever, through the authority of any prince or of any decree or of any persons having authority to confer such; or to receive an advancement or office in the society itself, if he is seen to be actuated by open or secret ambition for himself.

5. No appeal may be taken from the correction made by a rule which has been instituted according to the constitutions of the society (in order that the vigor of discipline may be maintained), nor can any appeal be taken to any judge, or any absolution from the duties of the society be obtained in this way.

6. The general prepositus and the inferior prepositi of this society are not bound to delegate the members or brothers of the said society to perform any service for patriarchs, archbishops, bishops or other ecclesiastical dignitaries, except by the authority of apostolic letters making specific mention of that society and of the service in question, and if any such members be delegated they are to remain under the discipline of the order and to be recalled when it may seem expedient to the society to do so.

7. Ignatius and his successors as general prepositi of the said society holding the office at the time are to have full and free power to remove or recall those among the brothers who have been delegated to the preaching of the cross or to the inquisition into private heresy, or similar offices, and to make null what these have done in excess of their authority, and to substitute others in the place of them whenever it shall seem expedient.

8. And we grant to the said Ignatius and the general prepositi in office at the time the right to absolve by their own authority or by that of those to whom they may delegate such authority, all and each of the members of the said society and all persons living in obedience to it, from all and each of their sins, committed either before or after their entrance into the society, and from all sentences of excommunication, suspension or interdict, and from all other ecclesiastical or secular sentences, censures, and penalties, imposed or promulgated by law or by men in any way whatsoever.

10. Also it is decreed that every member of the society ought to confess his sins to his own prepositus or to one or more delegated for that by his prepositus and designated by the rules of the aid society, unless he has been given the right of his prepositus to choose his own confessor.

12. The general prepositus and the inferior prepositi have full and free power to excommunicate, seize and imprison, or otherwise subject to their discipline by themselves or through others those who have left the society or have become apostates or have even been insolent in any way, or who seem in general to have merited such punishment, in whatever situation they may be found, and the right also to call upon the aid of the secular arms, when it may be necessary.

13. We exempt and absolve this society and all its members and persons and all their possessions, from any superiority, jurisdiction, or correction of any order whatsoever, and we take them under the protection of the Apostolic See.

14. It is also permitted to the general prepositus and by his authority to all the members or brothers of the society of the rank of presbyters, in the places where they live or where they chance to be stopping, to have oratories and to celebrate in them or in any honorable and fitting place, masses and other divine offices even in times of interdict imposed by apostolic authority, with closed doors, in subdued voices, all excommunicated and interdicted being excluded; and to receive ecclesiastical sacraments and to administer them to others.

18. And also any Christians of whatever condition who are present in the meetings of the word of God or at the preaching of the brothers and members of this society, or in churches where they are meeting, may on those days hear masses and other divine services and receive the ecclesiastical sacraments; nor are they bound to attend their own parish churches at these times.

20. And since these members are suffering great poverty in the name of Christ and by their pious zeal of exhortation are directing good men to better things and striving to recall the erring to the way of rectitude, we grant to them the right to dwell freely in the lands of excommunicated, heretics, schismatics, and heathen, and to converse with them (with the permission of the prepositus), and to ask and receive from such persons the necessaries of life whenever they find it expedient to pass through their lands.

21. And of our especial grace we grant by our said authority and of these presents that they are not to be bound to receive correc-

tion, visitation, or inquisition in respect to their monasteries or churches or persons, or to admit the cognition of cases or the citations of parties, or pronunciation of sentences of interdict or excommunication or to be under the supervision provided for monks and other religious persons by general apostolic letters or to be provided in the future, unless such letters make specific mention of the case and of this society.

28. Moreover, since we have learned that the people of cities, lands and districts among whom the members have had their dwelling or where they are sojourning, flock to them gladly to be confessed and to receive the holy communion from their hands, in order that they may be able to satisfy those who thus crowd to hear them, we grant to all faithful Christians the right to confess to any member of this society, without first obtaining the permission of their regular rector, and they are not to be bound to confess again those sins which they have confessed and for which they have received absolution from a member of this society.

32. And it is granted to the general prepositus of the society that he may appoint anyone of his members whom he regards as suited to the office the power to teach theology and other branches of learning, no further authorization being required.

38. And considering how great advantage the professors of this society have brought and are bringing to the exaltation of the Christian faith and of the true gospel, we approve, grant and confirm all and every one of the favors, concessions, privileges and graces which have been conceded by us in any way to the aforesaid society, its members and person.

41. And whatever favors, concessions and graces have been conceded by us to the general prepositi of the society at the time in office may be freely and with full warrant exercised by their vicars or other persons considered by the prepositi to be suitable and delegated for the time, especially in the remote parts of India and other such regions.

45. And we command the said society and each of its members in the Lord to our beloved sons in Christ, the illustrious and noble princes and temporal lords, and to our venerable brothers, the ecclesiastical prelates of whatever rank; and we exhort and command them in the Lord not only to see to it that these members are not disturbed or their privileges violated, but also to receive them in kindness and love as is fitting.

46. And we command by this apostolic writing to all and each of our venerable brothers, archbishops, bishops, and to our beloved

sons, the abbots, and priors, and to other persons placed in ecclesiastical dignity, and also to all the canons of metropolitan or other cathedral churches, and to the vicars-general and other officials of these archbishops and bishops, wherever constituted, that they themselves or through their delegates solemnly publish these letters and their contents whenever necessary and as often as they are to do so by the said members or any one of them, and that they aid the aforesaid members in the matter of these privileges herein mentioned with efficacious assistance and defence, and they cause these members to enjoy peacefully the privileges granted in these letters by our authority, not permitting them or any one of them to be molested unduly, in respect to the aforesaid privileges or for any other cause by the local authorities or by any persons whatsoever, but giving them complete justice in all cases as against any persons of any condition or rank, of any dignity or authority, patriarchal, archepiscopal, episcopal, or mundane. Let all these authorities cause to be carried out whatever is ordered by this society and let them declare and cause to be excommunicated and interdicted those who have incurred the censures and penalties of the society.

47. The constitutions and ordinances, etc. . . . notwithstanding. Given at Rome at St. Mark's in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1549, fifteenth of the Kalends of November, in the fifteenth year of our pontificate.

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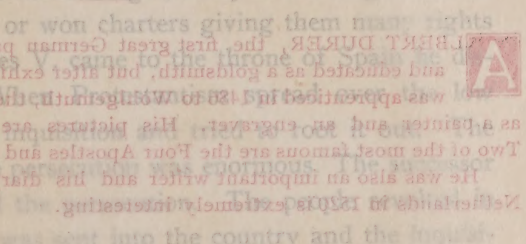
THE DUTCH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



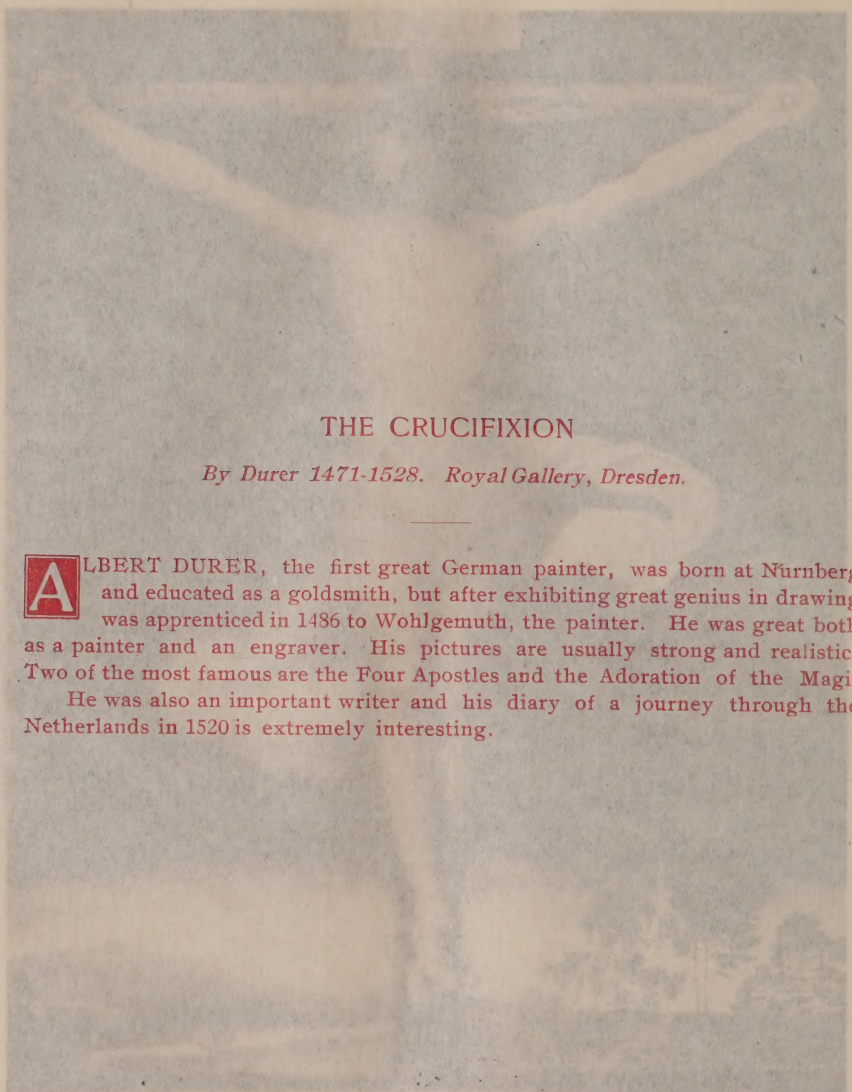
THE CRUCIFIXION

By Durer 1471-1528. Royal Gallery, Dresden.

AT THE END of the Middle Ages, many of the large cities of the Netherlands had bought or won charters giving them many rights of self-government. When Charles V came to the throne of Spain he confirmed the charters and introduced the Inquisition but tried at first to rule the country justly. When Charles V gave up the throne of Spain to his son Philip, increased the severity of the Inquisition. The people took Prince William of Orange as their leader, and with 30,000 men he marched against Alva.

The war lasted for forty years with varied fortunes. It was in 1574 that William of Orange cut the dykes to let his relieving fleet reach Leyden and raise the siege of the city. The cruelties of the war forced a union of the provinces. The prince of Orange was assassinated in 1584, but the struggle went on under his second son, Prince Maurice, a boy of seventeen. Elizabeth of England and then France came to the aid of the low countries. The war spread all over Europe, and finally in 1609 a truce was concluded which ended in the acknowledgment of the independence of the provinces in 1648 as one of the provisions of the treaty of Westphalia.

The declaration of independence given below was in modern times brings forward prominently the great idea that rulers are responsible to the people and can be removed by them. The growth of this idea is center of the development of constitutional and republican government.



THE CRUCIFIXION

By Durer 1471-1528. Royal Gallery, Dresden.

ALBERT DURER, the first great German painter, was born at Nürnberg and educated as a goldsmith, but after exhibiting great genius in drawing was apprenticed in 1486 to Wohlgemuth, the painter. He was great both as a painter and an engraver. His pictures are usually strong and realistic. Two of the most famous are the Four Apostles and the Adoration of the Magi.

He was also an important writer and his diary of a journey through the Netherlands in 1520 is extremely interesting.

THE DUTCH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

TOWARD THE END of the Middle Ages, many of the large cities of the Netherlands had bought or won charters giving them many rights of freedom, but when Charles V. came to the throne of Spain he disregarded these charters. When Protestantism spread over the low countries he introduced the inquisition and tried to root it out. The number of the victims of the persecution was enormous. The successor of Charles, Philip, increased the persecution. The people revolted in 1566 but the Duke of Alva was sent into the country and the inquisition re-established. A decree was passed condemning the majority of the whole population. The people took Prince William of Orange as their leader, and with 30,000 men he marched against Alva.

The war lasted for forty years with varied fortunes. It was in 1574 that William of Orange cut the dykes to let his rescuing fleet reach Leydon and raise the siege of the city. The cruelties of the war forced a union of the provinces. The prince of Orange was assassinated in 1584 but the struggle went on under his second son, Prince Maurice, a boy of seventeen. England and then France came to the aid of the low countries. The war spread all over Europe, and finally in 1609 a truce was established which ended in the acknowledgment of the independence of the provinces in 1648 as one of the provisions of the treaty of Westphalia.

The declaration of independence given below first in modern times brings forward prominently the great idea that rulers are responsible to the people and can be deposed by them. The growth of this idea is center of the development of constitutional and republican government.

THE DECLARATION

The States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, to all whom it may concern, do by these Presents send greeting:

As 'TIS apparent to all that a prince is constituted by God to be ruler of a people, to defend them from oppression and violence as the shepherd his sheep; and whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects (without which he could be no prince), to govern them according to equity, to love and support them as a father his children or a shepherd his flock, and even at the hazard of life to defend and preserve them. And when he does not behave thus, but, on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant, and the subjects are to consider him in no other view. And particularly when this is done deliberately, unauthorized by the states, they may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defense. This is the only method left for subjects whose humble petitions and remonstrances could never soften their prince or dissuade him from his tyrannical proceedings; and this is what the law of nature dictates for the defense of liberty, which we ought to transmit to posterity, even at the hazard of our lives. And this we have seen done frequently in several countries upon the like occasion, whereof there are notorious instances, and more justifiable in our land, which has been always governed according to their ancient privileges, which are expressed in the oath taken by the prince at his admission to the government; for most of the Provinces receive their prince upon certain conditions, which he swears to maintain, which, if the prince violates, he is no longer sovereign. Now thus it was that the king of Spain after the demise of the emperor, his father, Charles the Fifth, of the glorious memory (of whom he received all these provinces), forgetting the services done by the subjects of these countries,

both to his father and himself, by whose valor he got so glorious and memorable victories over his enemies that his name and power became famous and dreaded over all the world, forgetting also the advice of his said imperial majesty, made to him before to the contrary, did rather hearken to the counsel of those Spaniards about him, who had conceived a secret hatred to this land and to its liberty, because they could not enjoy posts of honor and high employments here under the states as in Naples, Sicily, Milan and the Indies, and other countries under the king's dominion. Thus allured by the riches of the said provinces, wherewith many of them were well acquainted, the said counsellors, I say, or the principal of them, frequently remonstrated to the king that it was more for his majesty's reputation and grandeur to subdue the Low Countries a second time, and to make himself absolute (by which they mean to tyrannize at pleasure), than to govern according to the restrictions he had accepted, and at his admission sworn to observe. From that time forward the king of Spain, following these evil counsellors, sought by all means possible to reduce this country (stripping them of their ancient privileges) to slavery, under the government of Spaniards having first, under the mask of religion, endeavored to settle new bishops in the largest and principal cities, endowing and incorporating them with the richest abbeys, assigning to each bishop nine canons to assist him as counsellors, three whereof should superintend the inquisition. By this incorporation the said bishops (who might be strangers as well as natives) would have had the first place and vote in the assembly of the states, and always the prince's creatures at devotion; and by the addition of the said canons he would have introduced the Spanish inquisition, which has been always as dreadful and detested in these provinces as the worst of slavery, as is well known, in so much that his imperial majesty, having once before proposed it to these states, and upon whose remonstrances did desist, and entirely gave it up, hereby giving proof of the great affection he had for his subjects. But, notwithstanding the many remonstrances made to the king both by the provinces and particular towns, in writing as well as by some principal lords by word of mouth; and, namely, by the Baron of Montigny and Earl of Egmont, who with the approbation of the Duchess of Parma, then governess of the Low Countries, by the advice of the council of state were sent several times to Spain upon this affair. And, although the king had by fair words given them grounds to hope that their request should be complied with, yet by his letters he ordered the contrary, soon after expressly commanding, upon pain of his dis-

pleasure, to admit the new bishops immediately, and put them in possession of their bishoprics and incorporated abbeys, to hold the court of the inquisition in the places where it had been before, to obey and follow the decrees and ordinances of the Council of Trent, which in many articles are destructive of the privileges of the country. This being come to the knowledge of the people gave just occasion to great uneasiness and clamor among them, and lessened that good affection they had always borne toward the king and his predecessors. And, especially, seeing that he did not only seek to tyrannize over their persons and estates, but also over their consciences, for which they believed themselves accountable to God only. Upon this occasion the chief of the nobility in compassion to the poor people, in the year 1566, exhibited a certain remonstrance in form of a petition, humbly praying, in order to appease them and prevent public disturbances, that it would please his majesty (by shewing that clemency due from a good prince to his people) to soften the said points, and especially with regard to the rigorous inquisition, and capital punishments for matters of religion. And to inform the king of this affair in a more solemn manner, and to represent to him how necessary it was for the peace and prosperity of the public to remove the aforesaid innovations, and moderate the severity of his declarations published concerning divine worship, the Marquis de Berghen, and the aforesaid Baron of Montigny had been sent, at the request of the said lady regent, council of state, and of the states-general as ambassadors to Spain, where the king, instead of giving them audience, and redress the grievances they had complained of (which for want of a timely remedy did always appear in their evil consequences among the common people), did, by the advice of Spanish council, declare all those who were concerned in preparing the said remonstrance to be rebels, and guilty of high treason, and to be punished with death, and confiscation of their estates; and, what's more (thinking himself well assured of reducing these countries under absolute tyranny by the army of the Duke of Alva), did soon after imprison and put to death the said lords the ambassadors, and confiscated their estates, contrary to the law of nations, which has been always religiously observed even among the most tyrannic and barbarous princes. And, although the said disturbances, which in the year 1566 happened on the fore-mentioned occasion, were now appeased by the governess and her ministers, and many friends to liberty were either banished or subdued, in so much that the king had not any shew of reason to use arms and violences, and further oppress this country,

yet for these causes and reasons, long time before sought by the council of Spain (as appears by intercepted letters from the Spanish ambassador, Alana, then in France, writ to the Duchess of Parma), to annul all the privileges of this country, and govern it tyrannically at pleasure as in the Indies; and in their new conquests he has, at the instigation of the council of Spain, showing the little regard he had for his people, so contrary to the duty which a good prince owes to his subjects), sent the Duke of Alva with a powerful army to oppress this land, who for his inhuman cruelties is looked upon as one of its greatest enemies, accompanied with counsellors too like himself. And, although he came in without the least opposition, and was received by the poor subjects with all marks of honor and clemency, which the king had often hypocritically promised in his letters, and that himself intended to come in person to give orders to their general satisfaction, having since the departure of the Duke of Alva equipped a fleet to carry him from Spain, and another in Zealand to come to meet him at the great expense of the country, the better to deceive his subjects, and allure them into the toils, nevertheless the said duke, immediately after his arrival (though a stranger, and no way related to the royal family), declared that he had a captain-general's commission, and soon after that of governor of these provinces, contrary to all its ancient customs and privileges; and, the more to manifest his designs, he immediately garrisoned the principal towns and castles, and caused fortresses and citadels to be built in the great cities to awe them into subjection, and very courteously sent for the chief nobility in the king's name, under pretense of taking their advice, and to employ them in the service of their country. And those who believed his letters were seized and carried out of Brabant, contrary to law, where they were imprisoned and prosecuted as criminals before him who had no right, nor could be a competent judge; and at last he, without hearing their defense at large, sentenced them to death, which was publicly and ignominiously executed. The others, better acquainted with Spanish hypocrisy, residing in foreign countries, were declared outlawries, and had their estates confiscated, so that the poor subjects could make no use of their fortresses nor be assisted by their princess in defense of their liberty against the violence of the pope; besides a great number of other gentlemen and substantial citizens, some of whom were executed, and others banished that their estates might be confiscated, plaguing the other honest inhabitants, not only by the injuries done to their wives, children and estates by the Spanish soldiers lodged in their houses,

as likewise by diverse contributions, which they were forced to pay toward building citedals and new fortifications of towns even to their own ruin, besides the taxes of the hundredth, twentieth, and tenth penny, to pay both the foreign and those raised in the country, to be employed against their fellow-citizens and against those who at the hazard of their lives defended their liberties. In order to impoverish the subjects, and to incapacitate them to hinder his design, and that he might with more ease execute the instructions received in Spain, to treat these countries as new conquests, he began to alter the course of justice after the Spanish mode, directly contrary to our privileges; and, imagining at last he had nothing more to fear, he endeavored by main force to settle a tax called the tenth penny on merchandise and manufactury, to the total ruin of these countries, the prosperity of which depends upon a flourishing trade, notwithstanding frequent remonstrances, not by a single Province only, but by all of them united, which he had effected, had it not been for the Prince of Orange with diverse gentlemen and other inhabitants, who had followed this prince in his exile, most of whom were in his pay, and banished by the Duke of Alva with others who between him and the states of all the provinces, on the contrary sought, by all possible promises made to the colonels already at his devotion, to gain the German troops, who were then garrisoned in the principal fortresses and the cities, that by their assistance he might master them, as he had gained many of them already, and held them attached to his interest in order, by their assistance, to force those who would not join with him in making war against the Prince of Orange, and the provinces of Holland and Zealand, more cruel and bloody than any war before. But, as no disguises can long conceal our intentions, this project was discovered before it could be executed; and he, unable to perform his promises, and instead of that peace so much boasted of at his arrival a new war kindled, not yet extinguished. All these considerations give us more than sufficient reason to renounce the King of Spain, and seek some other powerful and more gracious prince to take us under his protection; and, more especially, as these countries have been for these twenty years abandoned to disturbance and oppression by their king, during which time the inhabitants were not treated as subjects, but enemies, enslaved forcibly by their own governors.

Having also, after the decease of Don John, sufficiently declared by the Baron de Selles that he would not allow the pacification of Ghent, the which Don John had in his majesty's name sworn to main-

tain, but daily proposing new terms of agreement less advantageous. Notwithstanding these discouragements we used all possible means, by petitions in writing, and the good offices of the greatest princes in Christendom, to be reconciled to our king, having lastly maintained for a long time our deputies at the Congress of Cologne, hoping that the intercession of his imperial majesty and of the electors would procure an honorable and lasting peace, and some degree of liberty, particularly relating to religion (which chiefly concerns God and our own consciences), at last we found by experience that nothing would be obtained of the king by prayers and treaties, which latter he made use of to divide and weaken the provinces, that he might the easier execute his plan rigorously, by subduing them one by one, which afterwards plainly appeared by certain proclamations and proscriptions published by the king's orders, by virtue of which we and all officers of the United Provinces with all our friends are declared rebels, and as such, to have forfeited our lives and estates. Thus, by rendering us odious to all, he might interrupt our commerce, likewise reducing us to despair, offering a great sum to any that would assassinate the Prince of Orleans. So, having no hope of reconciliation, and finding no other remedy, we have, agreeable to the law of nature in our own defense, and for maintaining the rights, privileges, and liberties of our countrymen, wives, and children, and latest posterity from being enslaved by the Spaniards, been constrained to renounce allegiance to the King of Spain, and pursue such methods as appear to us most likely to secure our ancient liberties and privileges. Know all men by these presents that, being reduced to the last extremity, as above mentioned, we have unanimously and deliberately declared, and do by these presents declare, that the King of Spain has forfeited, *ipso jure,* all hereditary right to the sovereignty of those countries, and are determined from henceforward not to acknowledge his sovereignty or jurisdiction, nor any act of his relating to the domains of the Low Countries, nor make use of his name as prince, nor suffer others to do it. In consequence whereof we also declare all officers, judges, lords, gentlemen, vassals, and all other the inhabitants of this country of what condition or quality soever, to be henceforth discharged from all oaths and obligations whatsoever made to the King of Spain as sovereign of those countries. And whereas, upon the motives already mentioned, the greater part of the United Provinces have, by common consent of their members, submitted to the government and sovereignty of the illustrious Prince and Duke of Anjou, upon certain conditions stipulated with his high-

ness, and whereas the most serene Archduke Matthias has resigned the government of these countries with our approbation, we command and order all justiciaries, officers, and all whom it may concern, not to make use of the name, titles, great or privy seal of the King of Spain from henceforward; but in lieu of them, as long as his highness the Duke of Anjou is absent upon urgent affairs relating to the welfare of these countries, having so agreed with his highness or otherwise, they shall provisionally use the name and title of the President and Council of the Province. And, until such a president and counsellors shall be nominated, assembled, and act in that capacity, they shall act in our name, except that in Holland and Zealand where they shall use the name of the Prince of Orange, and of the states of the said provinces till the aforesaid council shall legally sit, and then shall conform to the directions of that council agreeable to the contract made with his highness. And. instead of the king's seal aforesaid, they shall make use of our great seal, centreseal, and signet, in affairs relating to the public, according as the said council shall from time to time be authorized. And in affairs concerning the administration of justice, and transactions peculiar to each province, the provincial council and other councils of that country shall use respectively the name, title, and seal of the said province, where the case is to be tried, and no other, on pain of having all letters, documents, and despatches annulled. And, for the better and effectual performance hereof, we have ordered and commanded, and do hereby order and command, that all the seals of the King of Spain which are in these United Provinces shall immediately, upon the publication of these presents, be delivered to the estate of each province respectively, or to such persons as by the said estates shall be authorized and appointed, upon peril of discretionary punishment.

Moreover, we order and command that from henceforth no money coined shall be stamped with the name, title, or arms of the King of Spain in any of these United Provinces, but that all new gold and silver pieces, with their halfs and quarters, shall only bear such impressions as the states shall direct. We order likewise and command the president and other lords of the privy council, and all other chancellors, presidents, accountants-general, and to others in all the chambers of accounts respectively in these said countries, and likewise to all other judges and officers, as we hold them discharged from henceforth of their oath made to the King of Spain, pursuant to the tenor of their commission, that they shall take a new oath to the states of that coun-

try on whose jurisdiction they depend, or to commissaries appointed by them, to be true to us against the King of Spain and all his adherents, according to the formula of words prepared by the states-general for that purpose. And we shall give to the said counsellors, justiciaries, and officers employed in these provinces, who have contracted in our name with his highness the Serenisme, Duke of Anjou, an act to continue them in their respective offices, instead of new commissions, a clause annulling the former provisionally till the arrival of his highness. Moreover, to all such counsellors, accomptants, justiciaries, and officers in these Provinces, who have not contracted with his highness, aforesaid, we shall grant new commissions under our hands and seals, unless any of the said officers are accused and convicted of having acted under their former commissions against the liberties and privileges of this country or of other the like mal administration. We farther command of the president and members of the privy council, chancellor of the Duchy of Brabant, also the chancellor of the Duchy of Gueldres, and county of Zutphen, to the president and members of the council of Holland, to the receivers of great officers of Beoostersheldt and Bewestersheldt in Zealand, to the president and council of Friese, and to the Escoulet of Mechelen, to the president and members of the council of Utrecht, and to all other justiciaries and officers whom it may concern, to the lieutenants all and every of them, to cause this our ordinance to be published and proclaimed throughout their respective jurisdictions, in the usual places appointed for that purpose, that none may plead ignorance. And to cause our said ordinance to be observed inviolably, punishing the offenders impartially and without delay; for so 'tis found expedient for the public good. And, for better maintaining all and every article hereof, we give to all and every of you, by express command, full power and authority. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, dated in our assembly at the Hague, the six and twentieth day of July, 1581, indorsed by the orders of the states-general, and signed J. De Asseliers.

MONTAIGNE

MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE was born February 28, 1533 on the family estate near Bordeaux.

His father seems to have had his own ideas of education and brought Montaigne up in a way that profoundly impressed him. He was waked in the morning by soft music, taught Latin by servants who spoke nothing else, spared all whipping in a time when whipping was almost universal.

At thirteen he left the college at Bordeaux after seven years' attendance, and took up law. In 1554 he was a counsellor in the Bordeaux parliament. The later details of his life are very imperfectly known. He was married in 1566, and succeeded to the family possessions in 1569. From 1571 to his death he spent most of his time at his chateaux.

He published the first two books of his essays in 1580 and the last two in 1588. They are the forerunners of their style of literature in modern times,—short, discursive, and upon all sorts of subjects. Their form and style have greatly influenced French prose, but what interests us here is that his educational ideas are to-day living forces in the training of children. In philosophy he was mildly skeptical, but his principles of education are strong and positive.

His death occurred in 1592.

ON THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

I NEVER yet saw that father who, let his son be ever so decrepit or scald-pated, would not own him; not but that, unless he were totally besotted and blinded with his paternal affection, he does not well enough discern his defects; but because, notwithstanding all faults, he is still his. Just so it is with me. I see better than any other that these things I write are but the idle whimsies of a man that has only nibbled upon the outward crust of learning in his nonage, and only retained a general and formless image of it, a little snatch of every thing, and nothing of the whole *a la Francoice;* for I know, in general, that there is a science of physic, a science of law, four parts in mathematics, and I have a general notion what all these aim at; and, peradventure, I know too what the sciences in general pretend unto, in order to the service of human life; but to dive farther than that, and to have cudgelled my brains in the study of Aristotle, the monarch of all our modern learning, or particularly addicted myself to any one science, I have never done it; neither is there any one art of which I am able to draw the first lineaments; insomuch that there is not a boy of the lowest form in a school that may not pretend to be wiser than I, who am not able to pose him in his first lesson, which, if I am at any time forced upon, I am necessitated in my own defence to ask him some universal questions, such as may serve to try his natural understanding; a lesson as strange and unknown to him as his is to me.

I never seriously settled myself to the reading of any book of solid learning, but Plutarch and Seneca; and there, like the Danaides, I eternally fill, and it as constantly runs out; something of which drops upon this paper, but very little or nothing stays behind with me. History is my delight, as to reading, or else poetry, for which I have, I confess, a particular kindness and esteem; for, as Cleanthes said, as the voice, forced through the narow passage of a trumpet, comes out more forcible and shrill; so, methinks, a sentence couched in the harmony of verse, darts more briskly upon the understanding, and strikes both my ear and apprehension with a smarter and more pleasing power. As to the natural parts I have, of which this is the specimen, I find

them to bow under the burthen; my fancy and judgment do but grope in the dark, tripping and stumbling in their way, and when I have gone as far as I can, I am in no degree satisfied, for I discover still a new and greater extent of land before me, but with troubled and imperfect sight, and wrapt up in clouds that I am not able to penetrate. And taking upon me to write indifferently of whatever comes into my head, and therein making use of nothing but my own proper and natural means, if I happened, as I often do, accidentally to meet in any good author the same heads and common places upon which I have attempted to write (as I did but lately in Plutarch's Discourse of the Force of the Imagination), to see myself so weak and miserable, so heavy and sleepy, in comparison with those better writers, I at once pity and despise myself. Yet do I flatter and please myself with this, that my opinions have often the honour and good fortune to tally with theirs, and that I follow in the same paths, though at a very great distance, saying, they are quite right; I am farther satisfied to find that I have a quality, which every one is not blest withal, which is to discern the vast difference betwixt them and me; and notwithstanding all that, suffer my own ideas, poor as they are, to run on in their career, without mending or plastering up the defects that this comparison has laid open to my own view. And in truth a man had need of a good strong back to keep pace with these people. The indiscreet scribblers of our time, who, amongst their laborious nothings, insert whole sections, paragraphs, and pages, out of ancient authors, with a design by that means to do honour to their own writings, do quite contrary; for the infinite dissimilitude of ornaments renders the complexions of their own compositions so pale, sallow, and deformed, that they lose much more than they get.

The philosophers, Chrysippus and Epicurus, were, in this, of two quite contrary humours; for the first did not only in his books mix the passages and sayings of other authors, but entire pieces, and in one, the whole Medea of Euripides; which gave Apollodorus occasion to say "that should a man pick out of his writings all that was none of his, he would leave nothing but blank paper;" whereas, Epicurus, quite contrary, in three hundred volumes that he left behind him, has not so much as one quotation.

A case in point occurred the other day: I was reading a French book, where, after I had a long time been dragging over a great many words, so dull, so insipid, so void of all wit or common sense that, in-

deed, they were only words, after a long and tedious travel I came, at last, to meet with a piece that was lofty, rich, and elevated to the very clouds. Now had I found either the declivity easy, or the ascent more sloping, there had been some excuse; but it was so perpendicular a precipice, and so wholly cut off from the rest of the work, that by the first words I found myself flying into the other world, and thence discovered the vale whence I came, so deep and low that I had never since the heart to descend into it any more. If I should set out my discourses with such rich spoils as these, the plagiarism would too manifestly discover the imperfection of my own writing. To reprehend the fault in others that I am guilty of myself, appears to me no more unreasonable than to condemn, as I often do, those of others in myself. They are to be every where reproved, and ought to have no sanctuary allowed them. I know very well how impudently I myself, at every turn, attempt to equal myself to my thefts, and go hand in hand with them, not without a daring hope of deceiving the eyes of my reader from discerning the difference; but, withal, it is as much by the benefit of my application that I hope to do it as by that of my invention, or any force of my own. Besides, I do not offer to contend with the whole body of these old champions, nor hand to hand with any of them; 'tis only by flights and little light skirmishes that I engage them; I do not grapple with them, but try their strength only, and never engage so far as I make a show to do. If I could hold them in play I were a brave fellow; for I never attack them but where they are strongest. To cover a man's self, as I have seen some do, with another man's armour, so as not to discover so much as their fingers' ends; to carry on his design, as it is not hard for a man that has any thing of a scholar in him, in an ordinary subject, to do, under old inventions, patched up here and there; and then to endeavour to conceal the theft, and to make it pass for his own, is, first, injustice and meanness of spirit in whoever does it; who, having nothing in them of their own fit to procure them a reputation, endeavour to do it by attempting to impose things upon the world in their own name, which they have really no manner of title to; and then a ridiculous folly to content themselves with acquiring the ignorant approbation of the vulgar by such a pitiful cheat, at the price, at the same time, of discovering their insufficiency to men of understanding, the only persons whose praise is worth any thing, who will soon smell out and trace them under their borrowed crest. For my own part there is nothing I would not

sooner do than that; I quote others only in order the better to express myself. In this I do not, in the least, glance at the composers of centos, who declare themselves for such; of which sort of writers I have, in my time, seen many very ingenious, particularly one, under the name of Capilupus, besides the ancients. These are really men of wit, and that make it appear they are so, both by that and other ways of writing; as, for example, Lipsius, in that learned and laborious contexture of his politics.

Be this how it will, and how inconsiderable soever these essays of mine may be, I will ingenuously confess I never intended to conceal them, any more than my old, gald, grizzled portrait before them, where the painter has presented you not with a perfect face, but with the resemblance of mine. For these are my own particular opinions and fancies, and I deliver them for no other but only what I myself believe, and not what others are to believe, neither have I any other end in this writing but only to discover myself, who shall, peradventure, be another thing to-morrow, if I chance to meet any book or friend to convince me in the mean time. I have no authority to be believed, neither do I desire it, being too conscious of my own inerudition to be able to instruct others.

A friend of mine then, having heard the preceding chapter, the other day, told me that I should have enlarged a little more upon the education of children. Now, madam, were my abilities equal to the subject, I could not possibly employ them better than in presenting them to the little gentleman that threatens you shortly with a happy birth, and your friends are in daily hopes of (you are too generous to begin otherwise than with a male); for having had so great a hand in your marriage, I have a sort of right and interest in the greatness and prosperity of all that shall proceed from it; besides, as you have been so long in possession of a title to the best of my services, I am obliged to desire the honour and advantage of every thing that concerns you. But, in truth, all I understand, as to this particular, is only this, that the greatest and most important difficulty of human science is the nurture and education of children. For, as in agriculture, all that precedes planting, as also planting itself, is certain, plain, and easy; but, after that which is planted takes life and shoots up, there is a great deal more to be done, and much more difficulty to be got over to cultivate and bring it to perfection; so it is with men; it is no hard matter to plant them, but after they are born then begins the trouble, solicitude, and care, to train and bring them up. The symptoms of their inclina-

tions at that tender age are so slight and obscure, and the promises so uncertain and fallacious, that it is very hard to establish any solid judgment or conjecture upon them. Look at Cimon, for example, and Themistocles, and a thousand others, whose manhood has given the lie to the ill-promise of their early youth. Bears' cubs and puppies discover their natural inclination; but men, so soon as they are grown up, immediately applying themselves to certain habits, engaging themselves in certain opinions, and conforming themselves to particular laws and customs, do easily change, or, at least, disguise, their true and real disposition. And yet it is hard to force the propensity of nature; whence it comes to pass that, for not having chosen the right course, a man throws away very great pains, and consumes great part of his time in training up children to things for which, by their natural aversion, they are totally unfit. In this difficulty, nevertheless, I am clearly of opinion that they ought to be elemented in the best and most advantageous studies, without taking too much notice of, or being too superstitious in, those light prognostics we too often conceive of them in their tender years; to which Plato, in his Republic, gives, methinks, too much authority.

But, madam, learning is doubtless a very great ornament, and a thing of marvellous use, especially to persons raised to that degree of fortune in which you are placed; and, in truth, in persons of mean and low condition, it cannot perform its true and genuine office, being naturally more prompt to assist in the conduct of war, in the government of a people, and in negotiating leagues with princes and foreign nations, than in forming a syllogism in logic, in pleading a process in law, or in prescribing a dose of pills in physic. Wherefore, madam, believing you will not omit this so necessary embellishment in the training of your posterity, yourself having tasted the delights of it, and being of a learned extraction (for we yet have the writings of the ancient Counts of Foix, from whom my lord, your husband, and yourself are both descended, and Monsieur Francis de Candale, your uncle, does, every day, oblige the world with others, which will extend the knowledge of this quality in your family to many succeeding ages,) I will, upon this occasion, presume to acquaint you with one particular fancy of my own, contrary to the common method, which is all I am able to contribute to your service in this matter.

The charge of the tutor you shall provide for your son, upon the choice of whom depends the whole success of his education, has several other great branches which, however, I shall not touch upon, as being

unable to add any thing of moment to the common rules; and also in this, wherein I take upon me to advise, he may follow it so far as it shall appear rational and conducing to the end in view. For a boy of quality then, who pretends to letters, not upon the account of profit (for so mean an object as that is unworthy of the grace and favour of the muses; and, moreover, has reference to others), nor so much for outward ornament, as for his own proper and peculiar use, and to furnish and enrich himself within, having rather a desire to come out an accomplished gentleman than a mere learned man; for such a one, I say, I would have his friends solicitous to find him out a tutor who has rather an elegant than a learned head, though both, if such a person can be found; but, however, to prefer manners and judgment before reading, and that this man should pursue the exercise of his charge after a new model.

'Tis the custom of schoolmasters to be eternally thundering in their pupils' ears, as they were pouring into a funnel, whilst the business of these is only to repeat what the others have said before. Now I would have a tutor to correct this error; and that, at the very first outset, he should, according to the capacity he has to deal with, put it to the test permitting his pupil himself to taste and relish things, and of himself to choose and discern them, sometimes opening the way to him, and sometimes making him break the ice himself; that is, I would not have him alone to invent and speak, but that he should also hear his pupil speak in turn. Socrates, and, since him, Arcesilaus, made first their scholars speak, and then spoke to them. *Obest plerunque iis qui liscere volunt auctoritas eorum qui docent.* "The authority of those who teach is very often an impediment to those who desire to learn." The tutor should make his pupil, like a young horse, trot before him, that he may judge of his going, and how much he is to abate of his own speed to accommodate himself to the vigour and capacity of the other. For want of which due proportion we spoil all; yet to know how to adjust it, and to keep within an exact and due measure, is one of the hardest things I know, and 'tis the effect of a strong and well-tempered mind to know how to condescend to his puerile motions and to govern and direct them. I walk firmer and more secure up hill than before.

Such as, according to our common way of teaching, undertake, with one and the same lesson, and the same measure of direction, to instruct several boys of so differing and unequal capacities, need not wonder if, in a multitude of scholars, there are not found above two

or three who bring away any good account of their time and discipline. Let the master not only examine him about the bare words of his lesson, but also as to the sense and meaning of them, and let him judge of the profit he has made, not by the testimony of his memory, but by that of his understanding. Let him make him put what he hath learned into a hundred several forms, and accommodate it to so many several subjects, to see if he yet rightly comprehend it, and has made it his own; taking instruction by his progress from the institutions of Plato. 'Tis a sign of crudity and indigestion to throw up what we have eaten in the same condition it was swallowed down; the stomach has not preformed its office unless it hath altered the form and condition of what was committed to it to concoct. Our minds work only upon trust, being bound and compelled to follow the appetite of another's fancy; enslaved and captive under the authority of another's instruction, we have been so subjected to the trammels that we have no free nor natural pace of our own, our own vigour and liberty is extinct and gone. *Nunquam tutelae suae fiunt.* "They are never out of wardship."

I was privately at Pisa carried to see a very honest man, but so great an Aristotelian that his invariable dogma was "That the touch stone and square of all solid imagination and all truth was an absolute conformity to Aristotle's doctrine, and that all besides was nothing but inanity and chimera; for that he had seen all and said all." A position that having been a little too broadly and maliciously interpreted, brought him into and long kept him in great trouble in the Inquisition at Rome.

Let the tutor make his pupil examine and thoroughly sift every thing he reads, and lodge nothing in his head upon simple authority and upon trust. Let Aristotle's Principles be no more principles to him than those of Epicurus and the stoics; let the diversity of opinions be propounded to, and laid before, him, he will himself choose, if he be able; if not, he will remain in doubt.

"I love sometimes to doubt as well as know."

For if he embrace the opinions of Xenophon and Plato, by the exercise of his reason they will no more be theirs, but become his own. Who follows another, follows nothing, finds nothing, nay, seeks nothing. *Non sumus sub rege; sibi quisque se vindicet.* "We are not under a king; let every one dispose of himself." Let him, at least, know that he does know. 'Tis for him to imbibe their knowledge, but not to

adopt their dogmas; and no matter if he forgets where he had his learning, provided he knows how to apply it to his own use; truth and reason are common to every one, and are no more his who spoke them first than his who spake them after. 'Tis no more according to Plato than according to me, since both he and I equally see and understand in the same manner. Bees cull their several sweets from this flower and that blossom, here and there where they find them, but themselves after make the honey which is all and purely their own, and no longer thyme and marjoram; so the several fragments the pupil borrows from others he will transform and blend together to compile a work that shall be absolutely his own; that is to say, his judgment, which his instruction, labour, and study should alone tend to form. He is not obliged to discover whence he had his materials, but only to produce what he has done with them. Men that live upon rapine and borrowing, readily parade their purchases and buildings to every one, but do not proclaim how they came by the money. We do not see the fees and perquisites of a gentleman of the long robe; but we see the noble alliances wherewith he fortifies himself and his family, and the titles and honours he has obtained for him and his. No man accounts to the public for his revenue; but every one makes a show of his purchases, and is content the world should know his good condition.

The advantages of our study are to become better and wiser. 'Tis says Epicharmus, the understanding that sees and hears, the understanding that improves every thing, that orders every thing, and that acts, rules, and reigns. All other faculties are blind and deaf, and without soul; and certainly we render it timorous and servile in not allowing it the liberty and privilege to do any thing of itself. Who ever asked his pupil what he thought of grammar and rhetoric, or of such and such and such a sentence of Cicero. Our pedagogues stick them full feathered in our memories, and there establish them like oracles, of which the very letters and syllables are the substance of the thing. To know by rote is no knowledge, 'tis no more than only to retain what one has intrusted to his memory. That which a man rightly knows and understands he is the free disposer of at his own full liberty, without any regard to the author from whom he had it, or fumbling over the leaves of his book. A mere bookish learning is a poor stock to go upon; though it may serve for some kind of ornament, there is yet no foundation for any superstructure to be built upon it, according to the opinion of Plato, who says that constancy, faith, and sincerity, are the true philosophy; and the other sciences, that are

directed to other ends, are but cozenage. I could wish to know whether Le Paluel or Pompey, famous dancing-masters of my time, could have taught us to cut capers by only seeing them do it, without stirring from our places, as these men pretend to inform our understandings, without ever setting them to work; or whether we could learn to ride, handle a pike, touch a lute, or sing, without practice, as these attempt to make us judge and speak well, without exercising us in judging or speaking. Now while we are in our apprenticeship to learning, whatsoever presents itself before us is a book worth attending to. An arch trick of a page, a blunder of a servant, or a jest at a table, are so many new subjects.

And for this very reason acquaintance with the world is of very great use, and travel into foreign countries of singular advantage; not to bring back (as most of our young Monsieurs do) an account only of how many paces Santa Rotonda is in circuit; or of the richness of Signiora Livia's attire; or, as some others, how much Nero's face, in a statue in such an old ruin, is longer and broader than that made for him in such an old medal; but to be able to give an account of the humours, manners, customs, and laws of those nations where he has been. And, that we may whet and sharpen our wits, by rubbing them upon those of others, I would that a boy should be sent abroad very young, and, in order to kill two birds with one stone, into those neighbouring nations whose language differs most from our own, and to which, if it be not formed betimes, the tongue will be grown too stiff to bend.

'Tis the general opinion of all, that children should not be brought up in their parents' lap. Their natural affection is apt to make the most discreet of them all so over-fond that they can neither find in their hearts to give them due correction for the faults they commit, nor suffer them to be brought up in those hardships and hazards they ought to be. They would not endure to see them return all dust and sweat from their exercise, to drink cold water when they are hot, or see them mount an unruly horse, or take a foil in hand against a rough fencer, or so much as to discharge a carbine. And yet there is no remedy; whoever will have a boy to be good for any thing when he comes to be a man, must by no means spare him when young, and must very often transgress the rules of physic:—

"He must sharp cold and scorching heat despise,
And most tempt danger where most danger lies."

It is not enough to fortify his soul, you are also to make his sinews

strong; for the soul will be oppressed, if not assisted by the body, and would have too hard a task to discharge two offices alone. I know very well how much mine groans under the disadvantage of a body so tender and delicate that eternally leans and presses upon her; and often in my reading perceive that our masters, in their writings, make examples pass for magnanimity and fortitude of mind, which really have more to do with toughness of skin and hardness of bones.

I have seen men, women, and children, born of so hard and insensible a constitution of body that sound cudgelling has been less to them than a flirt with a finger would have been to me, and that would neither cry out, nor wince at a good swinging beating; when wrestlers counterfeit the philosophers in patience, it is rather strength of nerves than stoutness of heart. Now to be inured to labour is to be able to endure pain. *Labor callum obducit dolori.* "Labour supplies pain with a certain callosity that hardens it to the blow." A boy must be broken in by the pain and hardship of severe exercise, to inure him to the pain and hardship of dislocations, colics, cauteries, and even a imprisonment and the rack itself, for he may come, by misfortune, to be reduced to the worst of these, which (as this world goes) sometimes befall the good as well as the bad. As for proof, in our present civil war, whoever draws his sword against the laws threatens all honest men with the whip and the halter.

And, moreover, by living at home, the authority of this tutor, which ought to be sovereign over the boy he has received into his charge, is often checked, interrupted, and hindered by the presence of parents; to which may also be added, that the respect the whole family pay him, as their master's son, and the knowledge he has of the estate and greatness he is heir to, are, in my opinion, no small inconvenience at these tender years.

In one's converse with the world, I have often observed this vice, that instead of gathering observations from others, we make it our whole business to give them our own, and are more concerned how to expose and set out our own commodities than how to acquire new. Silence and modesty are very advantageous qualities in conversation, and one should therefore train up the boy to be sparing, and a good husband of what he knows, when once acquired; and to forbear taking exceptions at, or reproving every idle saying, or ridiculous story, spoken or told in his presence; for it is a great rudeness to controvert every thing that is not agreeable to our own palate. Let him be satisfied with correcting himself, and not seem to condemn every thing in an-

other he would not do himself, nor dispute against common customs. *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia.* "Let him be wise without assumption and without envy." Let him avoid this pedagoguish and uncivil fashion, his childish ambition of coveting to appear something better and greater than other people, proving himself in reality something less; and as though finding fault were a proof of genius, seeking to found a special reputation thereon. For, as it becomes none but great poets to make use of the poetic license, so it is intolerable that any but men of great and illustrious souls should be privileged above the authority of custom. *Si quid Socrates et Aristippus contra morem et consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitretur licere: magnis enim illi et divinis bonis licentiam assequebantur.* "If Socrates and Aristippus have transgressed the rules of custom, let him not imagine that he is licensed to do the same; for it was by great and sovereign virtues that they obtained this privilege." Let him be instructed not to engage in discourse, or dispute but with a champion worthy of him, and even there, not to make use of all the little subtleties that may serve his purpose; but only such as may best serve him upon that occasion. Let him be taught to be nice in the choice om his reasons, to see they are pertinent, and to affect brevity; above all, let him be lessoned to acquiesce and submit to truth as soon as ever he shall discover it, whether in his opponent's argument, or upon better consideration of his own; for he should never be preferred to the chair for a mere clatter of words and syllogisms, nor be engaged to any argument whatever, than as he shall in his own judgment approve it; nor be bound to that trade, where the liberty of recantation, and getting off upon better thoughts, are to be sold for ready money. *Neque, ut omnia quae praescripta et imperata sint defendat, necessitate ulla cogitur.* "Neither is there any necessity or obligation upon him at all, that he should defend all things that are recommended to and enjoined him."

If his tutor be of my humour, he will form his will to be a very good and loyal subject to his prince, very affectionate to his person, and very stout in his quarrel; but withal, he will cool in him the desire of having any other tie to his service than public duty; because, besides several other inconveniences, that are inconsistent with the liberty every honest man ought to have, a man's judgment being bribed and prepossessed by these particular obligations and favours, is either blinded and less free to exercise its function, or shall be blemished either with ingratitude or indiscretion. A man that is purely a courtier can neither

have power nor wit to speak or think otherwise than favourably of a master, who, amongst so many thousands of other subjects, has picked out him with him own hand, to nourish and advance him. This favour, and the profit flowing from it, must needs, and not without some show of reason, corrupt his freedom of speaking, and dazzle him. And we commonly see these people speak in another kind of phrase than is ordinarily spoken by the rest of the nation, and are not much to be believed in such matters.

Let conscience and virtue be eminently manifest in his speech, and have only reason for their guide. Make him understand that to acknowledge the error he shall discover in his own argument, though only found out by himself, it is an effect of judgment and sincerity, which are the principal things he is to seek after. That obstinacy and contention are common qualities, most appearing in and best becoming a mean soul. That to recollect and correct himself, and to forsake a bad arguments in the heights and heat of dispute, are great and rare philosophical qualities. Let him be directed, being in company, to have his eye and ear in every corner of the room; for I find that the places of greatest honour are commonly possessed by men that have least in them, and that the greatest fortunes are not always accompanied with the ablest parts. I have been present, when, whilst they at the upper end of the table have been only commending the beauty of the arras, or the flavour of the wine, many fine things have been lost or thrown away at the lower end of the table. Let him examine every man's talent; a peasant, a bricklayer, or any casual passenger, a man may learn something from every one of these in their several capacities, and something will be picked out of their discourse, whereof some use may be made at one time or another; nay, even the folly and weakness of others will contribute to his instruction. By observing the graces and manners of all he sees, he will create to himself an emulation of the good, and a contempt of the bad.

Let an honest curiosity be planted in him to inquire after every thing, and whatever there is of singular and rare near the place where he shall reside, let him go and see it; a fine house, a fountain, an eminent man, the place where a battle was anciently fought, the passage of Cæsar or of Charlemaigne,

> "What lands are frozen, what are parched, explore,
> And what wind bears us to the Italian shore."

Let him inquire into the manners, revenues, and alliances of

princes, things in themselves very pleasant to learn and very useful to know. In thus conversing with men, I mean, and principally, those who only live in the records of history; let him, by reading those books, converse with the great and heroic souls of better ages. It is an idle study, I confess, to those who choose to make it so, by doing it after a negligent manner; but to those also who choose to make it so, by care and observation, it is a study of inestimable fruit and value; and the only one, as Plato reports, the Lacedemonians reserved to themselves. What profit shall he not reap, as to the business of men, by reading the lives of Plutarch. But, withal, let my tutor remember to what end his instructions are principally directed, and that he do not so much imprint in his pupil's memory the date of the ruin of Carthage, as the manners of Hannibal and Scipio; nor so much where Marcellus died as why it was unworthy of his duty that he died there. Let him read history, not as an amusing narrative, but as a discipline of the judgment. 'Tis this study to which, in my opinion, of all others, we apply ourselves with the most differing and uncertain measures. I have read an hundred things in Livy, that another has not, or not taken notice of, at least; and Plutarch has read a hundred more than I could find, or than peradventure the author ever writ. To some it is merely a grammar-study; to others, the very anatomy of philosophy, by which the most secret and abstruse parts of our human nature are penetrated into. There are in Plutarch many long discourses very worthy to be carefully read and observed, for he is, in my opinion, of all other, the greatest master in that kind of writing; but withal, there are a thousand others which he has only touched and glanced upon, where he only points with his finger to direct us which way we may go if we will, and contents himself sometimes with only giving one brisk hint on the nicest article of the question, whence we are to grope out the rest; as, for example, where he says, "That the inhabitants of Asia came to be vassals to one only, for not having been able to pronounce one syllable, which is *no*." Which saying of his gave perhaps matter and occasion to Boetius to write his "Voluntary Servitude." Even this, but to see him pick out a light action in a man's life, or a word that does not seem to be of any such importance, is itself a whole discourse. It is a pity that men of understanding should so immoderately affect brevity; no doubt but their reputation is the better for it; but in the mean time we are the worse. Plutarch had rather we should applaud his judgment than commend his knowledge, and had rather leave us with an appetite to read more, than glutted with that we have already read. He

knew very well that a man may say too much even upon the best subjects, and that Alexandrides did justly reproach him who made very elegant, but too long, speeches to the Ephori, when he said, "O stranger! thou speakest the things thou oughtest to speak, but not after the manner thou shouldest speak them." Such as have lean and spare bodies stuff themselves out with clothes; so they who are defective in matter endeavour to make amends with words.

Human understanding is marvellously enlightened by daily conversation with men, for we are otherwise in ourselves stupid and dull, and have our sight limited to the length of our own noses. One asking Socrates of what country he was, he did not make answer, "Of Athens," but, "Of the world;" having an imagination rich and expansive, he embraced the whole world for his country, and extended his society, his friendship, and his knowledge, to all mankind; not as we do, who look no farther than our feet. When the vines of our village are nipped with the frost, the parish-priest presently concludes that the indignation of God is gone out against all the human race, and that the cannibals have already got the pip. Who is it that, seeing these civil wars of ours, does not cry out, That the machine of the whole world is upsetting, and that the day of judgment is at hand! without considering that many worse things have been seen, and that, in the mean time, people are very merry in ten thousand other parts of the earth, notwithstanding. For my part, considering the license and impunity that always attend such commotions, I wonder they are so moderate, and that there is no more mischief done. To him that feels the hailstones patter about his ears, the whole hemisphere appears to be in storm and tempest; like the ridiculous Savoyard, who said very gravely, "That if that simple king of France had managed well he might in time have come to be steward of the household to the duke his master." The fellow could not, in his shallow imagination, conceive that there could be any thing greater than a Duke of Savoy. And, in truth, we are all of us insensibly in this error, an error of very pernicious consequence. But whoever shall represent to his fancy, as in a picture, that great image of our mother nature, portrayed in her full majesty and lustre; whoever in her face shall read so general and so constant a variety, whoever shall observe himself in that figure, and not himself but a whole kingdom, no bigger than the least touch of a pencil, in comparison of the whole, that man alone is able to value things according to their true estimate and grandeur.

This great world, which some do yet multiply as several species

under one genus, is the mirror wherein we are to behold ourselves, to be able to know ourselves as we ought to do. In short, I would have this to be the book my young gentleman should study with the most attention; for so many humours, so many sects, so many judgments, opinions, laws, and customs, teach us to judge aright of our own, and inform our understanding to discover its imperfection and natural infirmity, which is no trivial lesson. So many mutations of states and kingdoms, and so many turns and revolutions of public fortune, will make us wise enough to make no great wonder of our own. So many great names, so many famous victories and conquests drowned and swallowed in oblivion, render our hopes ridiculous of eternizing our names by the taking of half a score light horse, or a paltry turret, which only derives its memory from its ruin. The pride and arrogance of so many foreign pomps and ceremonies, the inflated majesty of so many courts and grandeurs, accustom and fortify our sight, without winking, to behold and endure the lustre of our own. So many millions of men buried before us, encourage us not to fear to go seek such good company in the other world, and so of all the rest. Pythagoras was wont to say, that our life resembled the great and populous assembly of the Olympic Games: some exercise the body for glory, others carry merchandise to sell for profit; there are also some, and those none of the worst sort, who pursue no other advantage than only to look on, and to consider how and why every thing is done, and to be inactive spectators of the lives of other men, thereby the better to judge of and regulate their own.

As examples, all the instruction couched in philosophical discourses may be taken, to which all human actions, as to their best rule, ought to be especially directed; where a man shall be taught to know,

> "Think what we are, and for what ends design'd;
> How we may best through life's long mazes wind;
> What we should wish for—how we may discern
> The bounds of wealth, and its true uses learn;
> How fix the portion which we ought to give
> To friends, relations, country—how to live
> As fits our station; and how best pursue
> What God has placed us in this world to do;"

what it is to know, and what to be ignorant; what ought to be the end and design of study; what valour, temperance, and justice are; the difference betwixt ambition and avarice, servitude and subjection;

licentiousness and liberty; by what token a man may know true and solid content; how far death, pain, and disgrace are to be feared;

"And what thou may'st avoid, and what must undergo."

By what secret springs we move, and the reason of our various irresolutions. For, methinks, the first doctrine with which one should season his understanding ought to be that which regulates his manners and his sense; that teaches him to know himself, and how both well to die and well to live. Amongst the liberal sciences, let us begin with that which makes us free; not that they do not all serve in some measure, to the instruction and use of life, as all other things in some sort, also do; but let us make choice of that which directly and professedly serves to that end. If we were once able to restrain the offices of human life within their just and natural limits, we should find that most of the sciences in use are of no great use to us, and, even in those that are, that there are many very unnecessary cavities and dilations which we had better let alone, and, following Socrates' direction, limit the course of our studies to those of real utility:

"Dare to be wise; and now
Begin: the man who has it in his power
To practice virtue, who puts off the hour,
Waits, like the clown, to see the brook run low
Which onward flows, and will for ever flow."

'Tis a great foolery to teach our children

"What influence Pisces and fierce Leo have,
Or Capricornus in the Hesperian wave."

The knowledge of the stars and the motion of the eighth sphere before their own.

"How swift the seven sisters' motions are,
Or the dull churls how slow, what need I care."

Anaximenes, writing to Pythagoras, "To what purpose," said he, "should I trouble myself in searching out the secrets of the stars, having death or slavery continually before my eyes?" (For the kings of Persia were at that time preparing to invade his country.) Every one ought to say the same: "Being assailed, as I am, by ambition, avarice, temerity, and superstition, and having within so many other enemies of life, shall I go cudgel my brains about the world's revolutions?"

After having taught our pupil what will make him more wise and good, you may then show him the elements of logic, physic, geometry, and rhetoric; and the science which he shall then himself most incline to, his judgment being, beforehand, formed and fit to choose, he will quickly make his own. The way of instructing him ought to be, sometimes by discourse, and sometimes by reading; sometimes his governor shall put the author himself, which he shall think most proper for him, into his hands, and sometimes only the marrow and substance of it; and if the governor himself be not conversant enough in books to turn to all the fine discourses the book contains, there may some man of letters be joined to him, that, upon every occasion shall supply him with what he desires and stands in need of, to recommend to his pupil. And who can doubt but that this way of teaching is much more easy and natural than that of Gaza? In which the precepts are so intricate, and so harsh, and the words so vain, empty, and insignificant, that there is no hold on them; nothing that quickens and elevates the wit and fancy; whereas, here the mind has what to feed upon and to digest. This fruit, therefore, is not only, without comparison, much finer, but will also be much more early ripe.

'Tis a thousand pities that matters should be at such a pass, in this age of ours, that philosophy, even with men of understanding, should be looked upon as a vain and fantastic name, a thing of no use, no value, either in opinion or effect; and I think 'tis these miserable egotisms, by taking possession of the avenues unto it, are the cause. People are much to blame to represent it to children as a thing of so difficult access, and with such a frowning, grim, and formidable aspect. Who is it has disguised it thus with this false, pale, and hideous countenance? There is nothing more airy, more gay, more frolic, I had like to have said, more wanton. She preaches nothing but feasting and jollity; a melancholy, thoughtful, look, shows that she does not inhabit there. Demetrius, the grammarian, finding in the Temple of Delphos, a knot of philosophers set chattering together, said to them, "Either I am much deceived, or, by your cheerful and pleasant countenance, you are engaged in no very deep discourse." To which one of them, Heracleon, the Megarean, replied, "'Tis for such as puzzle their brains about inquiring whether the future tense of the verb *ballo* be spelt with a double *l*, or that hunt after the derivation of the comparatives *cheiron, beltian,* and the superlatives *cheiriston, belliston,* to knit their brows whilst discoursing of their science; but as to philosophical discourses they always amuse and cheer up those that treat of them, and

never deject them, or make them sad."

———"For still we find
The face the unerring index of the mind,
And as this feels or fancies joys or woes,
That pales with anguish, or with rapture glows."

The soul that entertains philosophy ought by its necessarily healthy condition, to render the body healthful too; she ought to make her tranquillity and satisfaction shine, so as to appear without, and her contentment ought to fashion the outward behaviour to her own mould, and consequently to fortify it with a graceful confidence, an active and joyous carriage, and a serene and contented countenance. The most certain sign of wisdom is a continual cheerfulness; her state is like that of things in the regions above the moon, always clear and serene. 'Tis *Baroco* and *Barilipton* that render their disciples so dirty and ill-favoured, and not she; they do not so much as know her but by hear-say. 'Tis she that calms and appeases the storms and tempests of the soul, and who teaches famines and fevers to laugh and sing; and this not by certain imaginary epicycles, but by natural and manifest reasons. She has virtue for her end; which is not, as the schoolmen say, situate upon the summit of a steep, rugged, and inaccessible precipice. Such as have approached her find it, quite the contrary, to be seated in a fair, fruitful, and flourishing plain, whence she easily discovers all things below her; but to which any one may arrve if he know the way, through shady, green, and sweet-scented walks and avenues, by a pleasant, easy, and smooth descent, like that of the celestial arches. 'Tis for not having frequented this supreme, this beautiful, triumphant, and amiable, this equally delicious and courageous virtue, this so professed and implacable enemy to anxiety, sorrow, fear, and constraint, who, having nature for her guide, has fortune and pleasure for her companions, that they have gone according to their own weak imagination, and created this ridiculous, this sorrowful, querulous, despiteful, threatening, terrible image of it, and placed it upon a solitary rock amongst thorns and brambles, and made of it a hobgoblin to frighten people from daring to approach it.

But the tutor that I would have, knowing it to be his duty to possess his pupil with as much or more affection, than reverence, to virtue, will be able to inform him that the poets have evermore accomodated themselves to the public humour, and make him sensible that the gods have planted far more toil in the avenues of the cabinets of Venus,

than in those of Minerva. And when he shall once find him begin to apprehend he shall represent to him a Bradamante or an Angelica for a mistress; a natural, active, generous, not masculine, but manly beauty, in comparison of soft, delicate, artificial, simpering, and affected charms; the one in the habit of an heroic youth with a glittering helmet on her brow; the other tricked up in curls and ribbons, like a silly minx; he will then judge his love to be brave and manly, if he finds him choose quite contrary to that effeminate shepherd of Phrygia.

Such a tutor will make a pupil to digest this new lesson, that the height and value of true virtue consists in the facility, utility, and pleasure of its exercise; so far from difficulty that boys as well as men, and the innocent as well as the subtle, may make it their own; and 'tis by order and good conduct, not by force, that it is to be acquired. Socrates, her first favourite, is so averse to all manner of violence as totally to throw it aside, to slip into the more natural facility of her own progress. 'Tis the nursing-mother of all human pleasures, who, in rendering them just, renders them also pure and permanent; in moderating them, keeps them in breath and appetite; in interdicting those which she herself refuses, whets our desire to those which she allows; and, like a kind and liberal mother, abundantly allows all that nature requires, even to satiety, if not to lassitude; unless we choose to say that the regimen that stops the toper's hand before he has drunk himself drunk, the glutton's before he has eaten to a surfeit, and the wencher's career before he needs a surgeon, is an enemy to pleasure. If the ordinary fortune fail her, she does without her, or frames another, wholly her own, not so fickle and unsteady. She can be rich, potent, and wise, and knows how to lie upon a soft and perfumed couch. She loves life, beauty, glory, and health; but her proper and peculiar office is to know how regularly to make use of all these good things, and how to part with them without concern; an office much more noble than troublesome, and without which the whole course of life is unnatural, turbulent, and deformed; and there it is indeed that men may justly represent those monsters upon rocks and precipices. If this pupil shall happen to be of so cross and contrary a disposition that he had rather hear an idle tale than the true narrative of some noble expedition or some wise and learned discourse; who at the beat of a drum, that excites the youthful ardor of his companions, leaves that to follow another that calls to a morice-dance or the bears; and who would not wish nor find it more delightful to return all over dust victorious from a battle than from tennis or a ball, with the prize of

those exercises; I see no other remedy but that he be bound apprentice in some good town to learn to make minced-pies, though he were the son of a duke; according to Plato's precept, "That children are to be placed out in life, not according to the condition of the father, but according to their own capacities."

Since philosophy is that which instructs us to live, and that infancy has there its lessons as well as other ages, why is it not communicated to children betimes?

"The clay is moist and soft; now, now make haste,
And form the vessel, for the wheel turns fast."

They begin to teach us to live when we have almost done living. A hundred students have got the pox before they have come to read Aristotle's Lecture on Temperance. Cicero said that, though he should live two men's ages, he should never find leisure to study the lyric poets; and I find the Sophists yet more deplorably unprofitable. The boy we would train has a great deal less time to spare; he owes but the first fifteen or sixteen years of his life to his tutor, the remainder is due to action; therefore let us employ that short time in necessary instruction. Away with your crabbed logical subtleties; they are abuses, things by which our lives can never be amended. Take me the plain discourses of philosophy, learn first how rightly to choose, and then rightly to apply them; they are more easy to be understood than one of Boccaccio's novels; a child from nurse is much more capable of them than of learning to read or to write. Philosophy has discourses equally proper for childhood as for old age.

I am of Plutarch's mind, that Aristotle did not so much trouble his great disciple with the knack of forming syllogisms, or with the elements of geometry, as with infusing into him good precepts concerning valour, prowess, magnanimity, temperance, and the contempt of fear; and with this ammunition sent him, whilst yet a boy, with no more than 30,000 foot, 4,000 horse, and but 42,000 crowns, to subjugate the empire of the whole earth. As for the other arts and sciences, Alexander, he says, highly indeed commended their excellence, and had them in very great honour and esteem, but was not ravished with them to that degree as to be tempted to effect the practice of them in his own person.

"Seek then, both old and young, from truths like these,
That certain aim which life's last cares may ease."

Epicurus, in the beginning of his letter to Meniceus, says that neither the youngest should refuse to philosophize, nor the eldest grow weary of it. And who does otherwise seem tacitly to imply that either the time of living happily is not yet come, or that it is already past. Yet, for all that, I would not have this pupil of ours imprisoned and made a slave to his book; nor would I have him given up to the morose and melancholic humour of a sour, ill-natured pedant. I would not have his spirit cowed and subdued by applying him to the rack and tormenting him, as some do, fourteen or fifteen hours a day, and so make a packhorse of him. Neither should I think it good when, by reason of a solitary and melancholy complexion, he is discovered to be too much addicted to his book, to nourish that humour in him, for that renders him unfit for civil conversation, and diverts him from better employments. And how many have I seen in my time totally brutified by an immoderate thirst after knowledge! Carneades was so besotted with it that he would not find time so much as to comb his head or pare his nails. Neither would I have his generous temper spoiled and corrupted by the incivility and barbarity of that of another. French wisdom was anciently turned into a proverb, "Early, but of no continuance;" and in truth we yet see that nothing can be more ingenuous and pretty than the children of France; but they ordinarily deceive the hope and expectation that have been conceived of them, and, grown up to be men, have nothing extraordinary or worth taking notice of. I have heard men of good understanding say these colleges of ours, to which we send our young people (and of which we have but too many), make them such animals as they are.

But to our young friend, a closet, a garden, the table, his bed, solitude, and company, morning and evening, all hours shall be the same, and all places to him a study; for philosophy, who, as the formatrix of judgment and manners, shall be his principal lesson, has that privilege to have a hand in everything. The orator Isocrates being at a feast entreated to speak of his art, all the company were satisfied with and commended his answer. "It is not now a time," said Isocrates, "to do what I can do; and that which it is now time to do I cannot do." For to make orations and rhetorical disputes in a company met together to laugh and make good cheer had been very unseasonable and improper, and as much might be said of all the other sciences. But as to philosophy, that part of it at least that treats of man, and of his offices and duties, it has been the joint opinion of all wise men that, out of respect to the sweetness of her con-

versation, she is ever to be admitted in all sports and entertainments. And Plato having invited her to his feast, we see after how gentle and obliging a manner, accommodated both to time and place, she entertained the company, though in a discourse of the sublimest and most salutary nature.

"It profits poor and rich alike; and when
Neglected, t' old and young is hurtful then."

By which method of instruction, my young pupil will be much more and better employed than those of the college are. But as the steps we take in walking to and fro in a gallery, though three times as many, do not tire a man so much as those we employ in a formal journey; so our lesson, concurring as it were accidentally, without any set obligation of time or place, and falling naturally in with every action, will insensibly insinuate itself. Our very exercises and recreations, running, wrestling, music, dancing, hunting, riding, and fencing, will prove to be a good part of our study. I would have his outward behaviour and mien, and the disposition of his limbs, formed at the same time with his mind. It is not a soul, it is not a body, that we are training up; it is a man, and we ought not to divide him into two parts; and, as Plato says, we are not to fashion one without the other, but make them draw together like two horses harnessed to a coach. By which saying of his, does he not seem to allow more time for, and to take more care of, exercises for the body, and to believe that the mind in a good proportion does her business at the same time too?

As to the rest, this method of education ought to be carried on with a firm gentleness, quite contrary to the practice of our pedants, who instead of tempting and alluring children to letters, present nothing before them but rods and ferules, horror and cruelty. Away with this violence! away with this compulsion! than which, I certainly believe nothing more dulls and degenerates a well-born nature. If you you would have him fear shame and chastisement, do not harden him to them. Inure him to heat and cold, to wind and sun, and to dangers that he ought to despise. Wake him from all effeminacy in clothes and lodging, eating and drinking; accustom him to every thing, that he may not be a Sir Paris, a carpet-knight, but a sinewy, hardy, and vigorous young man. I have ever, from a child to the age wherein I now am, been of this opinion, and am still constant to it. But, amongst other things, the strict government of most of our colleges has always displeased me, and peradventure they might have erred less

perniciously on the indulgent side. They are mere jails, where imprisoned youths are taught to be debauched, by being punished for it before they are so. Do but come in when they are about their lesson, and you shall hear nothing but the outcries of boys under execution, and the thundering of pedagogues, drunk with fury. A very pretty way this to tempt these tender and timorous souls to love their book! leading them on with a furious countenance, and a rod in hand! a wretched and pernicious way! besides what Quintilian has very well observed, that this insolent authority is often attended by very dangerous consequences, and particularly our way of chastising. How much more decent would it be to see their classes strewed with leaves and flowers, than with bloody stumps of birch! Were it left to my ordering, I should paint the school with pictures of joy and gladness, Flora and the Graces, as the philosopher Speusippus did his; that where their profits is they might there have their pleasure too. Such viands as are proper and wholesome for children should be seasoned with sugar, and such as are dangerous to them with gall. It is admirable to see how solicitous Plato is in his laws for the gayety and diversion of the youth of his city, and how he enlarges upon their races, sports, songs, leaps, and dances; of which he says that antiquity has given the ordering and patronage to the gods themselves, to Apollo, Minerva, and the Muses. He insists upon a thousand precepts for exercise; but as to the lettered sciences says very little, and only seems particularly to recommend poetry upon the account of music.

All singularity in our manners and condition should be avoided, as obnoxious to society. Who is not astonished at so strange a constitution as that of Demophoon, steward to Alexander the Great, who sweated in the shade, and shivered in the sun? I have seen those who have run from the smell of an apple with greater precipitation than from a harquebuss shot; others are afraid of a mouse; others vomit at the sight of a cream; others at seeing a bed shaken; and there was Germanicus, who could neither endure the sight nor the crowing of a cock. There may, peradventure, be some occult cause for these aversions in these cases; but certainly, in my opinion, a man might conquer them, if he took them in time. Precept has in this wrought so effectually upon me, though not without some endeavour on my part, I confess, that, beer excepted, my appetite accommodates itself indifferently to all sorts of diet.

Young bodies are supple; one should therefore in that age bend and ply them to all fashions and customs; and, provided a man can

restrain the appetite and the will within limits, let a young man be rendered fit for all nations and all companies, even to debauchery and excess, if occasion be; that is, where he shall do it out of complaisance to the customs of a place. Let him be able to do every thing, but love to do nothing but what is good. The philosophers themselves do not justify Calisthenes for forfeiting the favour of his master, Alexander the Great, by refusing to pledge him a cup of wine. Let him laugh, carouse, and debauch with his prince; nay, I would have him, even in his debauches, excel his companions in ability and vigour, so that he may not give over doing it either through defect of power or knowledge how to do it, but for want of will. *Multum interest, utrum peccare aliquis nolit, aut nesciat.* "There is a vast difference betwixt forbearing to sin, and not knowing how to sin." I thought I passed a compliment upon a lord, as free from these excesses as any man in France, by asking him, before a great deal of good company, how many times in his life he had got drunk in Germany, in the time of his being there about his majesty's affairs; which he also took as it was intended, and made answer, three times; and withal, told us the whole story of his bouts. I know some who, for want of this faculty, have been put to great inconvenience in negotiating with that nation. I have often with great admiration reflected upon the wonderful constitution of Alcibiades, who so easily could transform himself to so various fashions, without any prejudice to his health; one while outdoing the Persian pomp and luxury, and another the Lacedemonian austerity and frugalty; as temperate in Sparta as voluptuous in Ionia.

"Old Aristippus every dress became,
In every state and circumstance the same."

I would have my pupil to be such a one,

"But that a man whom patience taught to wear
A coat that's patched, should ever learn to bear
A changed life with decency and grace,
May justly, I confess, our wonder raise."

These are my lessons, and he who puts them in practice shall reap more advantage than he who has had them read to him only, and only knows them. If you see him, you hear him; if you hear him, you see him. "The gods forbid," says one in Plato, "that to philosophize should be only to read a great many books, and to learn the arts." *Hanc amplissimam omnium artium bene vivendi disciplinam vitâ magis*

quam litteris persequuti sunt. "They have more illustrated and improved this discipline of living well, which of all arts is the greatest, by their lives, than by their reading." Leo, prince of the Phlasians, asking Heraclides Ponticus of what art or science he made profession; "I know," said he, "neither art nor science, but I am a philosopher." One reproaching Diogenes that, being ignorant, he should pretend to philosphy; "I, therefore," answered he, "pretend to it with so much the more reason." Hegesias entreated that he would read a certain book to him. "You are an amusing person," said he, "you who choose those figs that are true and natural, and not those that are painted, why do you not also choose exercises which are natural and true, rather than those written?"

A man should not so much repeat his lesson as practise it; let him repeat it in his actions. We shall discover if there be in him prudence, by his undertakings; if goodness and justice, by his deportment; if grace and justice, by his speaking; if firmness, by his sickness; if modesty, by his recreations; temperance, by his pleasures; order, by the management of his affairs; and indifference, by his palate, whether what he eats or drinks be flesh or fish, wine or water. *Qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ putet; quique obtemperet ipse sibi, et decretis pareat.* "Who considers his own discipline, not as a vain ostentation of science, but as a law and rule of life; and who obeys his own decrees, and observes that regimen he has prescribed to himself." The conduct of our lives is the true mirror of our doctrine. Zeuzidamus, to one who asked him why the Lacedemonians did not commit their constitutions of chivalry to writing, and deliver them to their young men to read, made answer that it was because they would inure them to action and not to words. With such a one compare, after fifteen or sixteen years' study, one of our college Latinists, who has thrown away so much time in nothing but learning to speak. The world is nothing but babble; and I never yet saw that man who did not rather prate too much than speak too little; and yet half of our lives is lost this way. We are kept four or five years to learn words only, and to take them together into phrases; as many more to put larger masses of these into four or five parts; and other five years, at least, to learn succinctly to mix and interweave them after some subtle and intricate manner. Let us leave such work to those who make it their trade.

Going one day to Orleans, I met, in the plain, on this side Clery, two pedants travelling to Bourdeaux, about fifty paces distant from

one another; and, a good way farther behind them, I saw a troop of horses with a gentleman at the head of them, the late Monsieur le Compte de la Rouchefoucault. One of my people inquired of the foremost of these Domines who that gentleman was that came after him; he, not having seen the train that followed after, and thinking my man meant his companion, pleasantly answered, "He is not a gentleman; he is a grammarian, and I am a logician." Now, we, on the contrary, who do not here seek to breed a grammarian or a logician, but a gentleman, let us leave them to throw away their time at their own fancy; our business lies elsewhere. Let but our pupil be well furnished with things, words will follow but too fast; he will pull them after him, if they do not come voluntarily. I have observed some to make excuses that they cannot express themselves, and pretend to have their fancies full of a great many very fine things, which yet, for want of eloquence, they cannot bring out; a mere shift and nothing else. Will you know what I think of it? I think they are nothing but shadows of some imperfect images and conceptions that they know not what to make of within, nor consequently how to bring out; they do not yet themselves understand what they would be at, and if you but observe how they haggle and stammer upon the point of parturition, you will soon conclude that their labour is not in delivery, but in conception, and that they are but licking their formless embryo. For my part I hold, and Socrates is positive in it, that whoever has in his mind a vivid and clear idea, will express it well enough in one way or other; and if he dumb, by signs.

"When once a thing conceiv'd is in the wit,
Words soon present themselves to utter it."

And as another, as poetically, says in prose, *Cum res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt.* "When things are once formed in the fancy, words offer themselves." And this other, *Ipsæ res verba rapiunt.* "The things themselves force words to express them." He knows nothing of ablative, conjunctive, substantive, or grammar, no more than his lackey or a fishwife of the Petit-Pont; and these yet will give you your fill of talk, if you will hear them, and, peradventure, shall trip as little in their language as the best masters of art in France. He knows no rhetoric, nor how, in a preface, to bribe the benevolence of the courteous reader; neither does he care, nor is it very necessary he should know it. Indeed all this fine sort of painting is easily obscured by the lustre of a simple truth; these fine ingenious flourishes

serve only to amuse the vulgar, of themselves incapable of more solid and nutritive diet, as Aper does very evidently demonstrate in Tacitus. The ambassadors of Samos, prepared with a long oration, came to Cleomenes, King of Sparta, to incite him to war against the tyrant Polycrates; he, after he had heard their harangue with great gravity and patience, gave them this short answer: "As to the exordium I remember it not, nor consequently the middle of your speech, and as to your conclusion, I will not do what you desire." A very pretty answer this, methinks, and a pack of learned orators no doubt finally gravelled! And what did this other say? The Athenians were to choose one of two architects for a great building they designed; the first, a pert affected fellow, offered his service in a long premeditated discourse upon the subject, and his oratory inclined the voices of the people in his favour; but the other had his say in three words, "Lords of Athens, what this man hath said, I will do." When Cicero was in the height and heat of his eloquence, many were struck with admiration; but Cato did only laugh at it, saying, "We have a pleasant Consul." Let it go before, or come after, a good sentence, a thing well said is always in season; if it neither suit well with what went before, nor has any very close coherence with what follows after, it is good in itself. I am none of those who think that good rhyme makes a good poem. Let the writer make short long, and long short, if he will, 'tis no great matter; if there be invention, and that the wit and judgment have well performed their office, I will say, here's a good poet, but an ill rhymer.

> "He rallied with a gay and easy air,
> But rude his numbers, and his style severe."

Let a man, says Horace, divest his work of all measures:

> "Let tense and mood, and words be all misplaced,
> Those last that should be first, those first the last;
> Though all things be thus shuffled out of frame,
> You'll find the poet's fragments not to blame."

He will never the more forfeit his praise; the pieces will be fine by themselves. Menander's answer had this meaning, who, being reproved by a friend, the time drawing on at which he had promised a comedy, that he had not yet put his hand to it, "It is ready," said he, "all but the verses." Having contrived the subject and disposed the

scenes in his head, he took little care for the rest. Since Ronsard and Du Bellay have given reputation to our French poetry, every little dabbler swells his words as high, and makes his cadences very near as harmonious, as they. *Plus sonat, quam valet.* "More sound than sense." There were never so many poetasters as now; but though they find it no hard matter to rhyme nearly as well as their masters, they yet fall altogether short of the rich descriptions of the one, and the delicate invention of the other.

But will become of our young gentleman if he be attacked with the sophistic subtility of some syllogism? "A Westphalia ham makes a man drink, drink quenches thirst, therefore a Westphalia ham quenches thirst." Why, let him laugh at it, and it will be more discretion to do so than to go about to answer it, or let him borrow this pleasant evasion from Aristippus; why should I trouble myself to untie that which, bound as it is, gives me so much trouble? A person offering at this dialectic juggling against Cleanthes, Chrysippus took him short, saying, "Reserve these baubles to play with children, and do not by such fooleries divert the serious thoughts of a man of years." If these ridiculous subtleties, *Contorta et aculeata sophismata,* "Perplexed and crabbed sophisms," are designed to possess him with an untruth, they are then dangerous; but if they remain without effect and only make him laugh, I do not see why a man need to be fortified against them. There are some so ridiculous as to go a mile out of their way to hook in a fine word. *Aut qui non verba rebus aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcessunt quibus verba conveniant.* "Who do not fit words to the subject, but seek out things quite from the purpose to fit those words they are so enamoured of." And, as another says, *Qui alicujus verbi decore placentis, vocentur ad id quod non proposuerant scribere.* "Who, by their fondness of some fine sounding word, are tempted to something they had no intention to treat of." I, for my part, rather bring in a fine sentence by head and shoulders to fit my purpose than divert my designs to hunt after a sentence. 'Tis for words to serve and to follow us; and let Gascon come in play where French will not do. I would have things so possess the imagination of him that hears that he should have something else to do than to think of words. The way of speaking that I love is natural and plain, as well in writing as speaking, and a sinewy and significant way of expressing one's self, short and pithy, and not so elegant and artificial as prompt and vehement.

"The language which strikes the mind will please it."

Rather hard than harsh, free from affectation; irregular, incontinuous, and bold, where every piece makes up an entire body; not like a pedant, a preacher, or a pleader, but rather a soldierlike style, as Suetonius calls that of Julius Cæsar; and yet I see no reason why he should call it so.

I have been ready enough to imitate the negligent garb which is observable among the young men of our time, to wear my cloak on one shoulder, my bonnet on one side, and one stocking in something more disorder than the other, which seems to express a kind of manly disdain of those exotic ornaments, and a contempt of art; but I find that negligence of even greater use in the form of speaking. All affectation, particularly in the French gayety and freedom, is ungraceful in a courtier, and in a monarchy every gentleman ought to be fashioned according to the court model; for which reason an easy and natural negligence does well. I like not a piece of stuff where the knots and seams are to been seen, and as little do I like, in a fine proportioned man to be able to tell all the bones and veins. *Quæ veritati operam dat oratio, incomposita sit et simplex. Quis accuratè loquitur, nisi qui vult putidè loqui?* "Let the language that is dedicated to truth be plain and unaffected. For who studies to speak quaintly and accurately that does not, at the same time, design to perplex his auditory?" That eloquence prejudices the subject it would advance which wholly attracts us to itself. And as, in our outward habit, 'tis a ridiculous effeminacy to distinguish ourselves by a particular and unpractised garb or fashion; so, in language, to study new phrases, and to affect words that are not of current use, proceeds from a childish and scholastic ambition. As for me, may I never use any other language than what is understood in the markets of Paris! Aristophanes, the grammarian, was quite out, when he reprehended Epicurus for this plain way of delivering himself, and that the end and design of his oratory was only perspicuity of speech. The imitation of words by its own facility, immediately disperses itself through a whole people. But the imitation of invention and judgment in applying those words is of a slower progress. The generality of readers, when they find a like robe, very mistakingly imagine they have the same body inside it, but force and sinews are not to be borrowed, though the attire may. Most of those I converse with speak the same language I here write; but whether they think the same thoughts I cannot say. The Atheni-

ans, says Plato, study length and elegance of speaking; the Lacedemonians affect brevity; and those of Crete aim more at fecundity of conception than fertility of speech, and these are the best. Zenon used to say that he had two sorts of disciples, one that he called *philologos,* curious to learn things, and these were his favourites; the other, *logophilos,* that cared for nothing but words. Not but that proper speaking is a very good and commendable quality; but 'tis not so excellent and so necessary as some would make it; and I am scandalized that our whole life should be spenting in nothing else. I would first understand my own language and that of my neighbours, with whom most of my business and conversation lies.

No doubt but Greek and Latin are very great ornaments and of great use, but we buy them too dear. I will here mention one way which also has been experimented in my own person, by which they are to be had cheaper than in the usual mode, and such may make use of it as will. My late father having made the most precise inquiry that any man can possibly make amongst men of the greatest learning and judgment, of an exact method of education, was by them cautioned of the inconvenience then in use, and informed that the tedious time we applied to the learing of the languages of those people who, themselves had them for nothing, was the sole cause we could not arrive to the grandeur of soul and perfection of knowledge of the ancient Greeks and Romans; I do not, however, believe that to be the only cause; the expedient my father, however, found out for this was that, in my infancy, and before I began to speak, he committed me to the care of a German (who since died a famous physician in France), totally ignorant of our language, but very fluent and a great critic in Latin. This man, whom he had sent for out of his own country, and whom he entertained, at a very great salary, for this only end, had me continually with him. To whom there were also joined two others of the same nation, but of inferior learning, to attend me, and sometimes to relieve him; who all of them conversed with me in no other language but Latin. As to the rest of his family, it was an inviolable rule that neither himself, nor my mother, nor man, nor maid, should speak any thing, in my company, but such Latin words as every one had learnt to gabble with me. It is not to be imagined how great an advantage this proved to the whole family; my father and my mother, by this means, learning Latin enough to understand it perfectly well, and to speak it to such a degree as was sufficient for any necessary use; as also those of the servants did who were most frequently with me.

To be short, we did *Latin* it at such a rate that it overflowed to all the neighbouring villages, where there yet remain, and have established themselves by custom, several Latin appellations of artisans and their tools. As for myself, I was above six years of age before I understood either French or Perigordin any more than Arabic, and without art, book, grammar, or precept, whipping, or the expense of a tear, had by that time learned to speak as pure Latin as my master himself. If, for example, they were to give me a theme after the College fashion, they gave it to others in French, but to me they gave it in the worst Latin, to turn it into that which was pure and good; and Nicholas Grouchy, who wrote a book *de Comitiis Romanorum;* William Guerente, who has written a Commentary upon Aristotle; George Buchanan, that great Scotch Poet, and Marc Antony Muret, whom both France and Italy have acknowledged for the best orator of his time, my domestic tutors, have all of them often told me that I had in my infancy that language so very fluent and ready that they were afraid to enter into discourse with me. Buchanan, whom I since saw attending the late Mareschal de Brissac, than told me that he was about to write a Treatise of Education, the example of which he intended to take from mine, for he was then tutor to that Count de Brissac, who afterwards proved so valiant and so brave a gentleman.

As to Greek, of which I have but little smattering, my father also designed to have taught it me by art, but in a new way, and as a sort of sport; tossing out declensions to and fro, after the matter of those who, by certain games, at tables and chess, learn geometry and arithmethic; for he, amongst other rules, had been advised to make me relish science and duty by an unforced will, and of my own voluntary motion, and to educate my soul in all liberty and delight, without any severity or constraint. Which he was an observer of to such a degree, even of superstition, that some being of opinion it troubles and disturbs the brains of children suddenly to wake them in the morning, and to snatch them violently and over-hastily from sleep (wherein they are much more profoundly involved than we), he only caused me to be waked by the sound of some musical instrument, and was never unprovided of a musician for that purpose. By which example you may judge of the rest, this alone being sufficient to recommend both the prudence and affection of so good a father; who, therefore, is not to be blamed if he did not reap the fruits answerable to so excellent a culture. Of which, two things were the cause: first, a sterile and improper soil; for though I was of a strong and healthful constitu-

tion, and of a disposition tolerably gentle and tractable, yet I was, withal, so heavy, idle, and sluggish, that they could not rouse me even to any exercise of recreation, nor get me out to play. What I saw, I saw clear enough, and under this lazy complexion, nourished a bold imagination, and opinions above my age. I had a slothful wit, that would go no faster than it was led, a slow understanding, a languishing invention, and, above all, an incredible defect of memory; so that it is no wonder if, from all these, nothing considerable could be extracted. Secondly, like those who, impatient of a long and steady cure, submit to all sorts of prescriptions and receipts, the good man being extremely timorous of any way failing in a thing he had so wholly set his heart upon, suffered himself, at last, to be overruled by the common opinion, which always follows the lead of what has gone on before, like cranes; and falling with the method of the time, having no longer about him those persons he had brought out of Italy, and who had given him his first models of education about him, he sent me, at six years of age, to the College of Guienne, at that time, the best and most flourishing in France. And there it was not possible to add any thing to the care he had to provide me the most able tutors, with all other circumstances of education, reserving also several particular rules contrary to the college practice; but so it was that, with all these precautions, it was a college still. My Latin immediately grew corrupt, and, by discontinuance, I have since lost all manner of use of it; and so this new plan of education served me to no other end than only, at my first coming, to prefer me to the first forms; for at thirteen years old, when I left the college, I had gone through my whole course, as they call it, and, in truth, without any manner of improvement, than I can honestly brag of, in all this time.

The first thing that gave me any taste of books was the pleasure I took in reading the fables of Ovid's Metamorphoses; and with them I was so taken that, being but seven or eight years old, I would steal from all other diversions to read them, both by reason that this was my own natural language, the easiest book that I was acquainted with, and for the subject the most accommodated to the capacity of my age; for as for Lancelot du Lake, Amadis de Gaul, Huon of Bourdeaux, and such trumpery, which children are most delighted with, I had never so much as heard their names, no more than I yet know what they contain; so exact was the discipline wherein I was brought up. This made me think the less of the other lessons prescribed me; and here it was infinitely to my advantage to have to do with an under-

standing tutor, who was wise enough to connive at this and other truantries of the same nature; for by this means I ran through Virgil's Æneids, and then Terence, and then Plautus, and some Italian comedies, allured by the pleasure of the subject; whereas had he been so foolish as to have taken me off his diversion, I do really believe I had brought nothing away from the college but a hatred of books, as almost all our young gentlemen do. But he carried himself very discreetly in that business, seeming to take no notice, and heightened my appetite by allowing me only such time for this reading as I could steal from my regular studies. For the chief things my father expected from them to whom he had delivered me for education was affability of manners and good humour; and, to say the truth, my temper had no other vice but sloth and want of mettle. The fear was not that I should do ill, but that I should do nothing. Nobody suspected that I should be wicked, but most thought I should be useless; they foresaw idleness, but no malice in my nature; and I find it falls out accordingly. The complaints I hear of myself are these: "He is idle, cold in the offices of friendship and relationship, and remiss in those of the public; he is too particular, he is too proud." The most injurious do not say, "Why has he taken such a thing?—why has he not paid such a one?" But "Why does he part with nothing?—why does he not give?" And I should take it for a favour that men would expect from me no greater effects of supererogation than these. But they are unjust to exact from me what I do not owe, far more rigorously than they exact from others that which they do owe; and in condemning me to it they efface the gratification of the act, and deprive me of the gratitude that would be due to me upon such a bounty; whereas the active benefit ought to be of so much the greater value from my hands, by how much I am not passive that way at all. I can the more freely dispose of my fortune the more it is mine, and of myself the more I am my own. Nevertheless, if I were good at setting out my own actions, I could peradventure very well repel these reproaches, and could give some to understand that they are not so much offended that I do not enough, as that I am able to do a great deal more than I do.

Yet for all this heavy disposition of mine, my mind, when retired into itself, was not altogether idle nor wholly deprived of solid inquiry nor of certain and clear judgments about those objects it could comprehend, and could also without any helps digest them; but, amongst other things, I do really believe it had been totally impossible to have

made it to submit my violence and force. Shall I here acquaint you with one faculty of my youth? I had great boldness and assurance of countenance, and to that a flexibility of voice and gesture to any part I undertook to act; for before

"I had hardly entered on my twelfth year,"

I played the chief parts in the Latin tragedies of Buchanan, Guerente, and Muret, that were acted in our college of Guienne with very great form; wherein Andreas Goveanus, our principal, as in all other parts of his undertaking, was, without comparison, the best of that employment in France, and I was looked upon as one of his chief actors. 'Tis an exercise that I do not disapprove in young people of condition, and I have since seen our princes, after the example of the ancients, perform such parts in person well and commendably; and it was moreover allowed to persons of the greatest quality to profess and make a trade of it in Greece. *Aristoni tragico actori rem aperit: huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant; nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pudori est, ea deformabat.* "He imparted this affair to Aristo the tragedian, a man of a good family and fortune, which nevertheless did neither of them receive any blemish by that profession, nothing of that kind being reputed a disparagement in Greece." I have always taxed those with impertinence who condemn these entertainments, and those with injustice who refuse to admit such comedians as are worth seeing into our towns, and grudge the people that public diversion. A sensible plan of government takes care to assemble its citizens not only to the solemn duties of devotion, but also to sports and spectacles. They find society and friendship augmented by it; and besides, can there possibly be afforded a more orderly diversion than what is performed in the sight of every one, and very often in the presence of the supreme magistrate himself? I, for my part, think it desirable that the prince should sometimes gratify his people at his own expense, with paternal kindness as it were, and that in great and popular cities there should be theatres erected for such entertainments, if but to divert them from worse and more private actions.

To return to my subject; there is nothing like alluring the appetite and affection, otherwise you make nothing but so many asses laden with books, and by virtue of the lash give them their pocket full of learning to keep; whereas, to do well, you should not only lodge it with them, but make them espouse it.

FRANCIS BACON

FRANCIS BACON was born at London January 22, 1561, the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Seals. He entered Trinity in 1573 and left in 1576. His father died in 1579 and left Bacon in straitened circumstances. He got into the habit of borrowing and was in debt most of his life.

He met Essex about 1588 and the two were friends until Essex entered upon his treason, when Bacon was one of his accusers. Bacon believed all his life in the prerogatives of the queen or king and let no friendship stand in the way of guarding them.

King James made him solicitor in 1607, attorney general in 1613, and at last Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam in 1618. In 1620 he published his Novum Organum and was one of the most prominent men in England. The next year he was impeached for bribery and sentenced to degradation, fine, and imprisonment. The fine was remitted and the imprisonment lasted only four days, but Bacon's political career was ended. The rest of his life was spent with his writings. He caught cold while experimenting whether snow would act as a preservative, and died April 9, 1626.

The Novum Organum attacked the philosophy and science of the time and argued for a science based on experience and experiment. His ideas are best explained in his own words given below. There has been a great deal of discussion as to how original and how useful they are. Aristotle and the later Greeks had not neglected experiment, and Galileo was even then carrying on experiments of great value, but Bacon's seems to be the first insistence that all science must go back to experience. This idea alone is epoch-making in the history of both science and philosophy.

THE NOVUM ORGANUM

APHORISMS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF NATURE AND THE EMPIRE OF MAN

1. MAN, as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more.

2. The unassisted hand, and the understanding left to itself, possess but little power. Effects are produced by the means of instruments and helps, which the understanding requires no less than the hand. And as instruments either promote or regulate the motion of the hand, so those that are applied to the mind prompt or protect the understanding.

3. Knowledge and human power are synonymous, since the ignorance of the cause frustrates the effect. For nature is only subdued by submission, and that which in contemplative philosophy corresponds with the cause, in practical science becomes the *rule*.

4. Man, whilst operating, can only apply or withdraw natural bodies; nature, internally, performs the rest.

5. Those who become practically versed in nature, are the mechanic, the mathematician, the physician, the alchymist, and the magician; but all (as matters now stand) with faint efforts and meager success.

6. It would be madness, and inconsistency, to suppose that things which have never yet been performed, can be performed without employing some hitherto untried means.

7. The creations of the mind and hand appear very numerous, if we judge by books and manufactures: but all that variety consists of an excessive refinement, and of deductions from a few well known matters; not of a number of axioms.

8. Even the effects already discovered are due to chance and experiment, rather than to the sciences. For our present sciences are nothing more than peculiar arrangements of matters already discov-

9. The sole cause and root of almost every defect in the sciences is this; that whilst we falsely admire and extol the powers of the human mind, we do not search for its real helps.

10. The subtilty of nature is far beyond that of sense or of the understanding: so that the specious meditations, speculations, and theories of mankind, are but a kind of insanity, only there is no one to stand by and observe it.

11. As the present sciences are useless for the discovery of effects, so the present system of logic is useless for the discovery of the sciences.

12. The present system of logic rather assists in confirming and rendering inveterate the errors founded on vulgar notions, than in searching after truth; and is therefore more hurtful than useful.

13. The syllogism is not applied to the principles of the sciences, and is of no avail in intermediate axioms, as being very unequal to the subtility of nature. It forces assent, therefore, and not things.

14. The syllogism consists of propositions, propositions of words, words are the signs of notions. If, therefore, the notions (which form the basis of the whole) be confused and carelessly abstracted from things, there is no solidity in the superstructure. Our only hope, then, is in genuine induction.

15. We have no sound notions either in logics or physics; substance, quality, action, passion, and existence are not clear notions; much less, weight, levity, density, tenuity, moisture, dryness, generation, corruption, attraction, repulsion, element, matter, form, and the like. They are all fantastical and ill defined.

16. The notions of less abstract natures, as man, dog, dove; and the immediate perceptions of heat, cold, white, black, do not deceive us materially, yet even these are sometimes confused by the mutability of matter and the intermixture of things. All the rest, which men have hitherto employed, are errors; and improperly abstracted and deduced from things.

17. There is the same degree of licentiousness and error in forming axioms, as in abstracting notions: and that in the first principles, which depend on common induction. Still more is this the case in axioms and inferior propositions derived from syllogisms.

18. The present discoveries in science are such as lie immediately beneath the surface of common notions. It is necessary, however, to penetrate the more secret and remote parts of nature, in ered, and not methods for discovery, or plans for new operations.

order to abstract both notions and axioms from things, by a more certain and guarded method.

19. There are and can exist but two ways of investigating and discovering truth. The one hurries on rapidly from the senses and particulars to the most general axioms; and from them as principles and their supposed indisputable truth derives and discovers the intermediate axioms. This is the way now in use. The other constructs its axioms from the senses and particulars, by ascending continually and gradually, till it finally arrives at the most general axioms, which is the true but unattempted way.

20. The understanding when left to itself proceeds by the same way as that which it would have adopted under the guidance of logic, namely, the first. For the mind is fond of starting off to generalities, that it may avoid labour, and after dwelling a little on a subject is fatigued by experiment. But these evils are augmented by logic, for the sake of the ostentation of dispute.

21. The understanding when left to itself in a man of a steady, patient, and reflecting disposition, (especially when unimpeded by received doctrines,) makes some attempt in the right way, but with little effect; since the understanding, undirected and unassisted, is equal to and unfit for the task of vanquishing the obscurity of things.

22. Each of these two ways begins from the senses and particulars, and ends in the greatest generalities. But they are immeasurably different; for the one merely touches cursorily the limits of experiment, and particulars, whilst the other runs duly and regularly through them; the one from the very outset lays down some abstract and useless generalities, the other gradually rises to those principles which are really the most common in nature.

23. There is no small difference between the *idols* of the human mind, and the *ideas* of the divine mind; that is to say, between certain idle dogmas, and the real stamp and impression of created objects, as they are found in nature.

24. Axioms determined upon in argument can never assist in the discovery of new effects: for the subtilty of nature is vastly superior to that of argument. But axioms properly and regularly abstracted from particulars, easily point out and define new particulars, and therefore impart activity to the sciences.

25. The axioms now in use are derived from a scanty handful, as it were, of experience, and a few particulars of frequent occurrence, whence they are of much the same dimensions or extent as to their

origin. And if any neglected or unknown instance occurs, the axiom is saved by some frivolous distinction, when it would be more consistent with truth to amend it.

26. We are wont, for the sake of distinction, to call that human reasoning which we apply to nature, the anticipation of nature, (as being rash and premature), and that which is properly deduced from things, the interpretation of nature.

27. Anticipations are sufficiently powerful in producing unanimity, for if men were all to become even uniformly mad, they might agree tolerably well with each other.

28. Anticipations again will be assented to much more readily than interpretations; because, being deduced from a few instances, and these principally of familiar occurrence, they immediately hit the understanding, and satisfy the imagination; whilst, on the contrary, interpretations, being deduced from various subjects, and these widely dispersed, cannot suddenly strike the understanding; so that, in common estimation, they must appear difficult and discordant, and almost like the mysteries of faith.

29. In sciences founded on opinions and dogmas, it is right to make use of anticipations and logic, if you wish to force assent rather than things.

30. If all the capacities of all ages should unite and combine and transmit their labours, no great logic will be made in learning by anticipations; because the radical errors, and those which occur in the first process of the mind, are not cured by the excellence of subsequent means and remedies.

31. It is in vain to expect any great progress in the sciences by the superinducing or engrafting new matters upon old. An instauration must be made from the very foundations, if we do not wish to revolve forever in a circle, making only some slight and contemptible progress.

32. The ancient authors, and all others, are left in undisputed possession of their honours. For we enter into no comparison of capacity or talent, but of method; and assume the part of a guide, rather than of a critic.

33. To speak plainly, no correct judgment can be formed, either of our method, or its discoveries, by those anticipations which are now in common use; for it is not to be required of us to submit ourselves to the judgment of the very method we ourselves arraign.

34. Nor is it an easy matter to deliver and explain our senti-

ments: for those things which are in themselves new can yet be only understood from some analogy to what is old.

35. Alexander Borgia said of the expedition of the French into Italy, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to force their passage. Even so do we wish our philosophy to make its way quietly into those minds that are fit for it, and of good capacity. For we have no need of contention where we differ in first principles, and our very notions, and even in our forms of demonstration.

36. We have but one simple method of delivering our sentiments: namely, we must bring men to particulars, and their regular series and order, and they must for a while renounce their notions and begin to form an acquaintance with things.

37. Our method and that of the skeptics agree in some respects at first setting out: but differ most widely and are completely opposed to each other in their conclusion. For they roundly assert that nothing can be known; we, that but a small part of nature can be known by the present method. Their next step, however, is to destroy the authority of the senses and understanding, whilst we invent and supply them with assistance.

38. The idols and false notions which have already preoccupied the human understanding, and are deeply rooted in it, not only so beset men's minds, that they become difficult of access, but, even when access is obtained, will again meet and trouble us in the instauration of the sciences, unless mankind, when forewarned, guard themselves with all possible care against them.

39. Four species of idols best the human mind: to which (for distinction's sake) we have assigned names: calling the first idols of the tribe; the second idols of the den; the third idols of the market; the fourth idols of the theatre.

40. The formation of notions and axioms on the foundation of true induction, is the only fitting remedy, by which we can ward off and expel these idols. It is, however, of great service to point them out. For the doctrine of idols bears the same relation to the interpretation of nature, as that of confutation of sophisms does to common logic.

41. The idols of the tribe are inherent in human nature, and the very tribe or race of man. For man's sense is falsely asserted to be the standard of things. On the contrary, all the perceptions, both of the senses and the mind, bear reference to man, and not to the

universe, and the human mind resembles those uneven mirrors, which impart their own properties to different objects, from which rays are emitted, and distort and disfigure them.

42. The idols of the den are those of each individual. For everybody (in addition to the errors common to the race of man) has his own individual den or cavern, which intercepts and corrupts the light of nature; either from his own peculiar and singular disposition, or from his education and intercourse with others, or from his reading, and the authority acquired by those whom he reverences and admires, or from the different impressions produced on the mind, as it happens to be preoccupied and predisposed, or equable and tranquil, and the like: so that the spirit of man (according to its several dispositions) is variable, confused, and as it were actuated by chance; and Heraclitus said well that men search for knowledge in lesser worlds, and not in the greater or common world.

43. There are also idols formed by the reciprocal intercourse and society of man with man, which we call idols of the market, from the commerce and association of men with each other. For men converse by means of language; but words are formed at the will of the generality; and there arises from a bad and unapt formation of words a wonderful obstruction to the mind. Nor can the definitions and explanations, with which learned men are wont to guard and protect themselves in some instances, afford a complete remedy: words still manifestly force the understanding, throw every thing into confusion, and lead mankind into vain and innumerable controversies and fallacies.

44. Lastly, there are idols which have crept into men's minds from the various dogmas of peculiar systems of philosophy, and also from the perverted rules of demonstration, and these we denominate idols of the theatre. For we regard all the symptoms of philosophy hitherto received or imagined, as so many plays brought out and performed, creating fictitious and theatrical worlds. Nor do we speak only of the present systems, or of the philosophy and sects of the ancients, since numerous other plays of a similar nature can be still composed and made to agree with each other, the causes of the most opposite errors being generally the same. Nor, again, do we allude merely to general systems, but also to many elements and axioms of sciences, which have become inveterate by tradition, implicit credence, and neglect. We must, however, discuss each species of idols more fully

and distinctly, in order to guard the human understanding against them.

45. The human understanding, from its peculiar nature, easily supposes a greater degree of order and equality in things than it really finds; and although many things in nature be sui generis, and most irregular, will yet invent parallels and conjugates, and relatives, where no such thing is. Hence the fiction, that all celestial bodies were in perfect circles, thus rejecting entirely spiral and serpentine lines, (except as explanatory terms.) Hence, also, the element of fire is introduced with its peculiar orbit, to keep square with those other three which are objects of our senses. The relative rarity of the elements (as they are called) is arbitrarily made to vary in tenfold progression, with many other dreams of the like nature. Nor is this folly confined to theories, but it is to be met with even in simple notions.

46. The human understanding, when any proposition has been once laid down, (either from general admission and belief, or from the pleasure it affords,) forces every thing else to add fresh support and confirmation; and although more cogent and abundant instances may exist to the contrary, yet either does not observe or despises them, or gets rid of and rejects them by some distinction, with violent and injurious prejudice, rather than sacrifice the authority of its first conclusions. It was well answered by him who was shown in a temple the votive tables suspended by such as had escaped the peril of shipwreck, and was pressed as to whether he would then recognise the power of the gods, by an inquiry; "But where are the portraits of those who have perished in spite of their vows?" All superstition is much the same, whether it be that of astrology, dreams, omens, retributive judgment, or the like; in all of which the deluded believers observe events which are fulfilled, but neglect and pass over their failure, though it be much more common. But this evil insinuates itself still more craftily in philosophy and the sciences; in which a settled maxim vitiates and governs every other circumstance, though the latter be much more worthy of confidence. Besides, even in the absence of that eagerness and want of thought, (which we have mentioned,) it is the peculiar and perpetual error of the human understanding to be more moved and excited by affirmatives than by negatives, whereas it ought duly and regularly to be impartial; nay, in establishing any true axiom, the negative instance is the most powerful.

47. The human understanding is most excited by that which strikes and enters the mind at once and suddenly, and by which the

imagination is immediately filled and inflated. It then begins almost imperceptibly to conceive and suppose that every thing is similar to the few objects which have taken possession of the mind; whilst it is very slow and unfit for the transition to the remote and heterogeneous instances, by which axioms are tried as by fire, unless the office be imposed upon it by severe regulations, and a powerful authority.

48. The human understanding is active and cannot halt or rest, but even, though without effect, still presses forward. Thus we cannot conceive of any end or external boundary of the world, and it seems necessarily to occur to us, that there must be something beyond. Nor can we imagine how eternity has flowed on down to the present day, since the usually received distinction of an infinity, *a parte ante* and *a parte post,* cannot hold good: for it would thence follow that one infinity is greater than another, and also that infinity is wasting away and tending to an end. There is the same difficulty in considering the infinite divisibility of lines, arising from the weakness of our minds, which weakness interferes to still greater disadvantage with the discovery of causes. For, although the greatest generalities in nature must be positive, just as they are found, and in fact not *causable,* yet, the human understanding, incapable of resting, seeks for something more intelligible. Thus, however, while aiming at further progress, it falls back to what is actually less advanced, namely, final causes; for they are clearly more allied to man's own nature than the system of the universe; and from this source they have wonderfully corrupted philosophy. But he would be an unskilful and shallow philosopher, who should seek for causes in the greatest generalities, and not be anxious to discover them in subordinate objects.

49. The human understanding resembles not a *dry light,* but admits a tincture of the will and passions, which generate their own system accordingly; for man always believes more readily that which he prefers. He, therefore, rejects difficulties for want of patience in investigation; sobriety, because it limits his hope; the depths of nature, from superstition; the light of experiment, from arrogance and pride, lest his mind should appear to be occupied with common and carying objects; paradoxes, from a fear of the opinion of the vulgar; in short, his feelings imbue and corrupt his understanding in innumerable and sometimes imperceptible ways.

50. But by far the greatest impediment and aberration of the human understanding proceeds from the dulness, incompetency, and

errors of the senses: since whatever strikes the senses preponderates over every thing, however superior, which does not immediately strike them. Hence contemplation mostly ceases with sight; and a very scanty, or perhaps no regard is paid to invisible objects. The entire operation, therefore, of spirits enclosed in tangible bodies is concealed and escapes us. All that more delicate change of formation in the parts of coarser substances (vulgarly called alteration, but in fact a change of position in the smallest particles) is equally unknown; and yet, unless the two matters we have mentioned be explored and brought to light, no great effect can be produced in nature. Again, the very nature of common air, and all bodies of less density (of which there are many) is almost unknown. For the senses are weak and erring, nor can instruments be of great use in extending their sphere or acuteness; all the better interpretations of nature are worked out by instances, and fit and apt experiments, where the senses only judge of the experiment, the experiment of nature and the thing itself.

51. The human understanding is, by its own nature, prone to abstraction, and supposes that which is fluctuating to be fixed. But it is better to dissect than abstract nature; such was the method employed by the school of Democritus, which made greater progress in penetrating nature than the rest. It is best to consider matter, its conformation, and the changes of that conformation, its own action, and the law of this action or motion, for forms are a mere fiction of the human mind, unless you will call *the laws of action* by that name. Such are the idols of the tribe, which arise either from the uniformity of the constitution of man's spirit, or its prejudice, or its limited faculties, or restless agitation, or from the interference of the passions, or the incompetency of the senses, or the mode of their impressions.

53. The idols of the den derive their origin from the peculiar nature of each individual's mind and body; and also from education, habit, and accident. And although they be various and manifold, yet we will treat of some that require the greatest caution, and exert the greatest power in polluting the understanding.

54. Some men become attached to particular sciences and contemplations, either from supposing themselves the authors and inventors of them, or from having bestowed the greatest pains upon such subjects, and thus become most habituated to them. If men of this description apply themselves to philosophy and contemplations of an universal nature, they wrest and corrupt them by their preconceived fancies; of which Aristotle affords us a single instance, who made his

natural philosophy completely subservient to his logic, and thus rendered it little more than useless and disputatious. The chymists, again, have formed a fanciful philosophy with the most confined views, from a few experiments of the furnace. Gilbert, too, having employed himself most assiduously in the consideration of the magnet, immediately established a system of philosophy to coincide with his favourite pursuit.

55. The greatest, and, perhaps, radical distinction between different men's dispositions for philosophy and the sciences is this; that some are more vigorous and active in observing the differences of things, others in observing their resemblances. For a steady and acute disposition can fix its thoughts, and dwell upon, and adhere to a point, through all the refinements of differences; but those that are sublime and discursive recognise and compare even the most delicate and general resemblances. Each of them readily falls into excess, by catching either at nice distinctions or shadows of resemblance.

56. Some dispositions evince an unbounded admiration of antiquity, others eagerly embrace novelty; and but few can preserve the just medium, so as neither to tear up what the ancients have correctly laid down, nor to despise the just innovations of the moderns. But this is very prejudicial to the sciences and philosophy, and, instead of a correct judgment, we have but the factions of the ancients and moderns. Truth is not to be sought in the good fortune of any particular conjuncture of time, which is uncertain, but in the light of nature and experience, which is eternal. Such factions, therefore, are to be abjured, and the understanding must not allow them to hurry it on to assent.

57. The contemplation of nature and of bodies in their individual form distracts and weakens the understanding: but the contemplation of nature and of bodies in their general composition and formation stupefies and relaxes it. We have a good instance of this in the school of Leucippus and Democritus compared with others: for they applied themselves so much to particulars as almost to neglect the general structure of things, whilst the others were so astounded whilst gazing on the structure, that they did not penetrate the simplicity of nature. These two species of contemplation must therefore be interchanged, and each employed in its turn, in order to render the understanding at once penetrating and capacious, and to avoid the inconveniences we have mentioned, and the idols that result from them.

58. Let such, therefore, be our precautions in contemplation,

that we may ward off and expel the idols of the den: which mostly owe their birth either to some predominant pursuit; or, secondly, to an excess in synthesis and analysis; or, thirdly, to a party zeal in favour of certain ages; or, fourthly, to the extent or narrowness of the subject. In general, he who contemplates nature should suspect whatever particularly takes and fixes his understanding, and should use so much the more caution to preserve it equable and unprejudiced.

59. The idols of the market are the most troublesome of all, those, namely, which have entwined themselves around the understanding from the associations of words and names. For men imagine that their reason governs words, whilst, in fact, words react upon the understanding; and this has rendered philosophy and the sciences sophistical and inactive. Words are generally formed in a popular sense, and define things by those broad lines which are most obvious to the vulgar mind; but when a more acute understanding, or more diligent observation is anxious to vary those lines, and to adapt them more accurately to nature, words oppose it. Hence the great and solemn disputes of learned men often terminate in controversies about words and names, in regard to which it would be better (imitating the caution of mathematicians) to proceed more advisedly in the first instance, and to bring such disputes to a regular issue by definitions. Such definitions, however, cannot remedy the evil in natural and material objects, because they consist themselves of words, and these words produce others; so that we must necessarily have recourse to particular instances, and their regular series and arrangement, as we shall mention when we come to the mode and scheme of determining notions and axioms.

60. The idols imposed upon the understanding by words are of two kinds. They are either the names of things which have no existence, (for, as some objects are from inattention left without a name, so names are formed by fanciful imagination which are without an object,) or they are the names of actual objects, but confused, badly defined, and hastily and irregularly abstracted from things. Fortune, the primum mobile, the planetary orbits, the element of fire, and the like fictions, which owe their birth to futile and false theories, are instances of the first kind. And this species of idols is removed with greater facility, because it can be exterminated by the constant refutation or the desuetude of the theories themselves. The others, which are created by vicious and unskilful abstraction, are intricate and deeply rooted. Take some word for instance, as *moist;* and let us

examine how far the different significations of this word are consistent. It will be found that the word *moist* is nothing but a confused sign of different actions, admitting of no settled and defined uniformity. For it means that which is indeterminable and cannot be brought to a consistency; that which yields easily in every direction; that which is easily divided and dispersed; that which is easily united and collected; that which easily flows and is put in motion; that which easily adheres to and wets another body; that which is easily reduced to a liquid state, though previously solid. When, therefore, you come to predicate or impose this name, in one sense flame is moist, in another air is not moist, in another fine powder is moist, in another glass is moist; so that it is quite clear that this notion is hastily abstracted from water only, and common, ordinary liquors, without any due verification of it.

There are, however, different degrees of distortion and mistake in words. One of the least faulty classes is that of the names of substances, particularly of the less abstract and more defined species; (those then of *chalk* and *mud* are good, of *earth,* bad;) words signifying actions are more faulty, as to *generate,* to *corrupt,* to *change;* but the most faulty are those denoting qualities, (except the immediate objects of sense,) as *heavy, light, rare, dense.* Yet in all of these there must be some notions a little better than others, in proportion as a greater or less number of things come before the senses.

61. The idols of the theatre are not innate, nor do they introduce themselves secretly into the understanding; but they are manifestly instilled and cherished by the fictions of theories and depraved rules of demonstration. To attempt, however, to undertake their confutation, would not be consistent with our declarations. For, since we neither agree in our principles nor our demonstrations, all argument is out of the question. And it is fortunate that the ancients are left in possession of their honours. We detract nothing from them, seeing our whole doctrine relates only to the path to be pursued. The lame (as they say) in the path outstrip the swift, who wander from it, and it is clear that the very skill and swiftness of him who runs not in the right direction, must increase his aberration.

Our method of discovering the sciences is such as to leave little to the acuteness and strength of wit, and indeed rather to level wit and intellect. For, as in the drawing of a straight line or accurate circle by the hand, much depends upon its steadiness and practice, but if a ruler or compass be employed there is little occasion for either; so it is with our method. Although, however, we enter into no individ-

ual confutations, yet a little must be said, first, of the sects and general divisions of these species of theories; secondly, something further to show that there are external signs of their weakness, and, lastly, we must consider the causes of so great a misfortune, and so long and general unanimity in error, that we may thus render the access to truth less difficult, and that the human understanding may the more readily be purified, and brought to dismiss its idols.

62. The idols of the theatre or of theories are numerous, and may and perhaps will be still more so. For, unless men's minds had been now occupied for many ages in religious and theological considerations, and civil governments (especially monarchies) had been averse to novelties of that nature, even in theory, (so that men must apply to them with some risk and injury to their own fortunes, and not only without a reward, but subject to contumely and envy,) there is no doubt that many other sects of philosophers and theorists would have been introduced, like those which formerly flourished in such diversified abundance amongst the Greeks. For, as many imaginary theories of the heavens can be deduced from the phenomena of the sky, so it is even more easy to found many dogmas upon the phenomena of philosophy; and the plot of this our theatre resembles those of the poetical, where the plots which are invented for the stage are more consistent, elegant, and pleasurable than those taken from real history.

In general, men take for the groundwork of their philosophy either too much from a few topics, or too little from many; in either case their philosophy is founded on too narrow a basis of experiment and natural history, and decides on too scanty grounds. For the theoretic philosopher seizes various common circumstances by experiment, reducing them to certainty, or examining and frequently considering them, and relies for the rest upon meditation and the activity of his wit.

There are other philosophers who have diligently and accurately attended to a few experiments, and have thence presumed to deduce and invent systems of philosophy, forming every thing to conformity with them.

A third set, from their faith and religious veneration, introduce theology and traditions; the absurdity of some amongst them having proceeded so far as to seek and derive the sciences from spirits and genii. There are, therefore, three sources of error and three species of false philosophy; the sophistic, empiric, and superstitious.

63. Aristotle affords the most eminent instance of the first; for

he corrupted natural philosophy by logic: thus, he formed the world of categories, assigned to the human soul, the noblest of substances, a genus determined by words of secondary operation, treated of density and rarity (by which bodies occupy a greater or lesser space) by the frigid distinctions of action and power, asserted that there was a peculiar and proper motion in all bodies, and that if they shared in any other motion, it was owing to an external moving cause, and imposed innumerable arbitrary distinctions upon the nature of things; being everywhere more anxious as to definitions in teaching, and the accuracy of the wording of his propositions, than the internal truth of things. And this is best shown by a comparison of his philosophy with the others of greatest repute among the Greeks. For the similar parts of Anaxagoras, the atoms of Leucippus and Democritus, the heaven and earth of Parmenides, the discord and concord of Empedocles, the resolution of bodies into the common nature of fire, and their condensation, according to Heraclitus, exhibit some sprinkling of natural philosophy, the nature of things, and experiment, whilst Aristotle's physics are mere logical terms, and he remodelled the same subject in his metaphysics under a more imposing title, and more as a realist than a nominalist. Nor is much stress to be laid on his frequent recourse tc experiment in his books on animals, his problems, and other treatises; for he had already decided, without having properly consulted experience as the basis of his decisions and axioms, and after having so decided, he drags experiment along, as a captive constrained to accommodate herself to his decisions; so that he is even more to be blamed than his modern followers, (of the scholastic school,) who have deserted her altogether.

64. The empiric school produces dogmas of a more deformed and monstrous nature than the sophistic or theoretic school: not being founded in the light of common notions, (which, however poor and superficial, is yet in a manner universal and of a general tendency,) but in the confined obscurity of a few experiments. Hence this species of philosophy appears probable and almost certain to those who are daily practised in such experiments, and have thus corrupted their imagination, but incredible and futile to others. We have a strong instance of this in the alchymists and their dogmas; it would be difficult to find another in this age, unless, perhaps, in the philosophy of Gilbert. We could not, however, neglect to caution others against this school, because we already foresee and augur, that if men be hereafter induced by our exhortations to apply seriously to experiments,

(bidding farewell to the sophistic doctrines,) there will then be imminent danger from empirics, owing to the premature and forward haste of the understanding, and its jumping or flying to generalities and the principles of things. We ought, therefore, already to meet the evil.

65. The corruption of philosophy by the mixing of it up with with superstition and theology is of a much wider extent, and is most injurious to it, both as a whole and in parts. For the human understanding is no less exposed to the impressions of fancy, than to those of vulgar notions. The disputations and sophistic school entraps the understanding, whilst the fanciful, bombastic, and, as it were, poetical school rather flatters it. There is a clear example of this among the Greeks, especially in Pythagoras, where, however, the superstition is coarse and overcharged, but it is more dangerous and refined in Plato and his school. This evil is found also in some branches of the systems of philosophy, where it introduces abstracted forms, final and first causes, omitting frequently the intermediate, and the like. Against it we must use the greatest caution; for the apotheosis of error is the greatest evil of all, and when folly is worshipped, it is, as it were, a plague-spot upon the understanding. Yet, some of the moderns have indulged this folly, with such consummate inconsiderateness, that they have endeavoured to build a system of natural philosophy on the first chapter of Genesis, the book of Job, and other parts of Scripture; seeking thus the dead amongst the living. And this folly is the more to be prevented and restrained, because not only fantastical philosophy but heretical religion sprung from the absurd mixture of matters divine and human. It is, therefore, most wise soberly to render unto faith the things that are faith's.

66. Having spoken of the vicious authority of the systems founded either on vulgar notions, or a few experiments, or on superstition, we must now consider the faulty subjects for contemplation, especially in natural philosophy. The human understanding is perverted by observing the power of mechanical arts, in which bodies are very materially changed by composition or separation, and is induced to suppose that something similar takes place in the universal nature of things. Hence the fiction of elements, and their co-operation in forming natural bodies. Again, when man reflects upon the entire liberty of nature, he meets with particular species of things, as animals, plants, minerals, and is thence easily led to imagine that there exist in nature certain primary forms which she strives to produce, and that all variation from them arises from some impediment or error which she is

exposed to in completing her work, or from the collision or metamorphosis of different species. The first hypothesis has produced the doctrine of *elementary properties,* the second that of *occult properties and specific powers;* and both lead to trifling courses of reflection, in which the mind acquiesces, and is thus diverted from more important subjects. But physicians exercise a much more useful labour in the consideration of the secondary qualities of things, and the operation of attraction, repulsion, attenuation, inspissation, dilation, astringency, separation, maturation, and the like; and would do still more if they would not corrupt these proper observations by the two systems I have alluded to, of elementary qualities and specific powers, by which they either reduce the secondary to first qualities, and their subtile and immeasurable composition, or at any rate neglect to advance by greater and more diligent observation to the third and fourth qualities, thus terminating their contemplation prematurely. Nor are these powers (or the like) to be investigated only among the medicines of the human body, but also in all changes of other natural bodies.

A greater evil arises from the contemplation and investigation rather of the stationary principles of things, *from which,* than of the active, *by which* things themselves are created. For the former only serve for discussion, the latter for practice. Nor is any value to be set on those common differences of motion which are observed in the received system of natural philosophy, as generation, corruption, augmentation, diminution, alteration, and translation. For this is their meaning: if a body, unchanged in other respects, is moved from its place, this is *translation;* if the place and species be given, but the quantity changed, it is *alteration;* but if, from such a change, the mass and quantity of the body do not continue the same, this is the motion of *augmentation* and *diminution;* if the change be continued so as to vary the species and substance, and transfuse them to others, this is *generation* and *corruption.* All this is merely popular, and by no means penetrates into nature; and these are but the measures and bounds of motion, and not different species of it; they merely suggest *how far,* and not *how* or *whence.* For they exhibit neither the affections of bodies, nor the process of their parts, but merely establish a division of that motion, which coarsely exhibits to the senses matter in its varied form. Even when they wish to point out something relative to the causes of motion, and to establish a division of them, they most absurdly introduce *natural* and *violent* motions, which is also a popular notion, since every violent motion is also in fact *natural,*

that is to say, the external efficient puts nature in action in a different manner to that which she had previously employed.

But if, neglecting these, any one were for instance to observe, that there is in bodies a tendency of adhesion, so as not to suffer the unity of nature to be completely separated or broken, and a vacuum to be formed; or that they have a tendency to return to their natural dimensions or tension, so that, if compressed or extended within or beyond it, they immediately strive to recover themselves, and resume their former volume and extent; or that they have a tendency to congregate into masses with similar bodies, the dense, for instance, towards the circumference of the earth, the thin and rare towards that of the heavens, these and the like are true physical genera of motions, but the others are clearly logical and scholastic, as appears plainly from a comparison of the two.

Another considerable evil is, that men in their systems and contemplations bestow their labour upon the investigation and discussion of the principles of things and the extreme limits of nature, although all utility and means of action consist in the intermediate objects. Hence men cease not to abstract nature till they arrive at potential and shapeless matter, and still persist in their dissection, till they arrive at atoms; and yet, were all this true, it would be of little use to advance man's estate.

67. The understanding must also be cautioned against the intemperance of systems, so far as regards its giving or withholding its assent; for such intemperance appears to fix and perpetuate idols, so as to leave no means of removing them.

These excess are of two kinds. The first is seen in those who decide hastily, and render the sciences positive and dictatorial. The other is those who have introduced sketpicism, and vague, unbounded inquiry. The former subdues, the latter enervates the understanding. The Aristotelian philosophy, after destroying other systems (as the Ottomans do their brethren) by its disputations, confutations, decided upon every thing, and Aristotle himself then raises up questions at will, in order to settle them; so that every thing should be certain and decided, a method now in use among his successors.

The school of Plato introduced skepticism, first, as it were, in joke and irony, from their dislike to Protagoras, Hippias, and others, who were ashamed of appearing not to doubt upon any subject. But the new academy dogmatized in their skepticism, and held it as their tenet. Although this method be more honest than arbitrary decision,

(for its followers allege that they by no means confound all inquiry, like Pyrrho and his disciples, but hold doctrines which they can follow as probable, though they cannot maintain them to be true,) yet, when the human mind has once despaired of discovering truth, every thing begins to languish. Hence men turn aside into pleasant controversies and discussions, and into a sort of wandering over subjects, rather than sustain any rigorous investigation. But, as we observed at first, we are not to deny the authority of the human senses and understanding, although weak; but rather to furnish them with assistance.

68. We have now treated of each kind of idols, and their qualities; all of which must be abjured and renounced with firm and solemn resolution, and the understanding must be completely freed and cleared of them; so that the access to the kingdom of man, which is founded on the sciences, may resemble that of the kingdom of heaven, where no admission is conceded except to children.

69. Vicious demonstrations are the muniments and support of idols, and those which we posses in logic, merely subject and enslave the world to human thoughts, and thoughts to words. But demonstrations are, in some manner, themselves systems of philosophy and science. For such as *they* are, and accordingly as they are regularly or improperly established, such will be the resulting systems of philosophy and contemplation. But those which we employ in the whole process leading from the senses and things to axioms and conclusions, are fallacious and incompetent. This process is fourfold, and the errors are in equal number. In the first place the impressions of the senses are erroneous, for they fail and deceive us. We must supply defects by substitutions, and fallacies by their correction. 2dly. Notions are improperly abstracted from the senses, and indeterminate and confused when they ought to be the reverse. 3dly. The induction that is employed is improper, for it determines the principles of sciences by simple enumeration, without adopting the exclusions, and resolutions, or just separations of nature. Lastly, the usual method of discovery and proof, by first establishing the most general propositions, then applying and proving the intermediate axioms according to them, is the parent of error and the calamity of every science. But we will treat more fully of that which we now slightly touch upon, when we come to lay down the true way of interpreting nature, after having gone through the above expiatory process and purification of the mind.

70. But experience is by far the best demonstration, provided it adhere to the experiment actually made; for if that experiment be transferred to other subjects apparently similar, unless with proper and methodical caution, it becomes fallacious. The present method of experiment is blind and stupid. Hence men wandering and roaming without any determined course, and consulting mere chance, are hurried about to various points, and advance but little; at one time they are happy, at another their attention is distracted, and they always find that they want something further. Men generally make their experiments carelessly, and as it were in sport, making some little variation in a known experiment, and then, if they fail, they become disgusted and give up the attempt; nay, if they set to work more seriously, steadily, and assiduously, yet they waste all their time on probing some solitary matter; as Gilbert on the magnet, and the alchymists on gold. But such conduct shows their method to be no less skillful than mean. For nobody can successfully investigate the nature of any subject by considering that object alone; the inquiry must be more generally extended.

Even when men build any science and theory upon experiment, yet they almost always turn with premature and hasty zeal to practice, not merely on account of the advantage and benefit to be derived from it, but in order to seize upon some security in a new undertaking of their not employing the remainder of their labour unprofitably; and by making themselves conspicuous, to acquire a greater name for their pursuit. Hence, like Atalanta, they leave the course to pick up the golden apple, interrupting their speed, and giving up their victory. But, in the true course of experiment, and in extending it to new effects, we should imitate the Divine foresight and order. For God, on the first day, only created light, and assigned a whole day to that work, without creating any material substance thereon. In like manner, we must first, by every kind of experiment, elicit the discovery of causes and true axioms, and seek for experiments which may afford light rather than profit. Axioms, when rightly investigated and established, prepare us not for a limited but abundant practice, and bring in their train whole troops of effects. But we will treat hereafter of the ways of experience, which are not less beset and interrupted than those of judgment; having spoken at present of common experience only as a bad species of demonstration, the order of our subject now requires some mention of those external signs of the weakness in practice of the received systems of philosophy and contemplation, which we re-

ferred to above, and of the causes of a circumstance at first sight so wonderful and incredible. For the knowledge of these external signs prepares the way for assent, and the explanation of the causes removes the wonder; and these two circumstances are of material use in extirpating more easily and gently the idols from the understanding.

71. The sciences we possess have been principally derived from the Greeks: for the additions of the Roman, Arabic, or more modern writers are but few, and of small importance; and, such as they are, are founded on the basis of Greek invention. But the wisdom of the Greeks was professional and disputatious, and thus most adverse to the investigation of truth. The name, therefore, of sophists, which the contemptuous spirit of those who deemed themselves philosophers, rejected and transferred to the rhetoricians, Georgias, Protagoras, Hippias, Polus, might well suit the whole tribe, such as Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurus, Theophrastus, and their successors, Chrysippus, Carneades, and the rest. There were only this difference between them, the former were mercenary vagabonds, traveling about to different states, making a show of their wisdom and requiring pay; the latter, more dignified and noble, in possession of fixed habitations, opening schools, and teaching philosophy gratuitously. Both, however, (though differing in other respects,) were professorial, and reduced every subject to controversy, establishing and defending certain sects and dogmas of philosophy: so that their doctrines were nearly (what Dionysius not unaptly objected to Plato) "the talk of idle old men to ignorant youths." But the more ancient Greeks, as Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Philolaus, and the rest, (for I omit Pythagoras, as being superstitious,) did not (that we are aware) open schools; but betook themselves to the investigation of truth with greater silence, and with more severity and simplicity: that is, with less affectation and ostentation. Hence, in our opinion, they acted more advisedly, however their works may have been eclipsed in course of time by those lighter productions which better correspond with and please the apprehensions and passions of the vulgar: for time, like a river, bears down to us that which is light and inflated, and sinks that which is heavy and solid. Nor were these more ancient philosophers free from the natural defect, but inclined too much to the ambition and vanity of forming a sect, and captivating public opinion; and we must despair of any inquiry after truth, when it condescends to such trifles. Nor must we omit the opinion or rather prophecy of an Egyptian priest with re-

gard to the Greeks, "that they would for ever remain children, without any antiquity of knowledge or knowledge of antiquity." For they certainly have this in common with children, that they are prone to talking and incapable of generation, their wisdom being loquacious, and unproductive of effects. Hence the external signs derived from the origin and birthplace of our present philosophy are not favourable.

72. Nor are those much better which can be deduced from the character of the time and age, than the former from that of the country and nation. For in that age the knowledge both of time and of the world was confined and meagre, which is one of the worst evils for those who rely entirely on experience. They had not a thousand years of history, worthy of that name, but mere fables and ancient traditions. They were acquainted with but a small portion of the regions and countries of the world—for they indiscriminately called all nations situated far towards the north Scythians, all those to the west Celts; they knew nothing of Africa, but the nearest part of Ethiopia, or of Asia beyond the Ganges, and had not even heard any sure and clear tradition of the region of the new world. Besides, a vast number of climates and zones, in which innumerable nations live and breathe, were pronounced by them to be uninhabitable, nay, the travels of Democritus, Plato, and Pythagoras, which were not extensive, but rather mere excursions from home, were considered as something vast. But in our times many parts of the new world, and every extremity of the old are well known, and the mass of experiments has been infinitely increased. Wherefore, if external signs were to be taken from the time of the nativity or procreation, (as in astrology,) nothing extraordinary could be predicted of these early systems of philosophy.

73. Of all signs there is none more certain or worthy than that of the fruits produced: for the fruits and effects are the sureties and vouchers, as it were, for the truth of philosophy. Now, from the systems of the Greeks and their subordinate divisions in particular branches of the sciences during so long a period, scarcely one single experiment can be culled that has a tendency to elevate or assist mankind, and can be fairly set down to the speculations and doctrines of their philosophy. Celsus candidly and wisely confesses as much, when he observes that experiments were first discovered in medicine, and that men afterwards built their philosophical systems upon them, and searched for and assigned causes, instead of the inverse method of discovering and deriving experiments from philosophy and the knowledge of causes. It is not, therefore, wonderful that the Egyptians

(who bestowed divinity and sacred honours on the authors of new inventions) should have consecrated more images of brutes than of men; for the brutes, by their natural instinct, made many discoveries, whilst men discovered but few from discussion and the conclusions of reason.

The industry of the alchymists has produced some effect, by chance, however, and casualty, or from varying their experiments, (as mechanics also do,) and not from any regular art or theory; the theory they have imagined rather tending to disturb than to assist experiment. Those, too, who have occupied themselves with natural magic, (as they term it,) have made but few discoveries, and those of small import, and bordering on imposture. For which reason, in the same manner as we are cautioned by religion to show our faith by our works, we may very properly apply the principle to philosophy, and judge of it by its works; accounting that to be futile which is unproductive, and still more so, if instead of grapes and olives it yield but the thistle and thorns of dispute and contention.

74. Our signs may be selected from the increase and progress of particular systems of philosophy and the sciences. For those which are founded on nature grow and increase, whilst those which are founded on opinion change, and increase not. If, therefore, the theories we have mentioned were not like plants turn up by the roots, but grew in the womb of nature and were nourished by her; that which for the last two thousand years has taken place would never have happened: namely, that the sciences still continue in their beaten track, and nearly stationary, without having received any important increase; nay, having, on the contrary, rather bloomed under the hands of their first author, and then faded away. But we see that the case is reversed in the mechanical arts, which are founded on nature and the light of experience, for they (as long as they are popular) seem full of life, and uninterruptedly thrive and grow, being at first rude, then convenient, lastly polished, and perpetually improved.

75. There is another sign, (if such it may be termed, being rather an evidence, and one of the strongest nature,) namely, the actual confession of those very authorities whom men now follow. For even they who decide on things so daringly, yet, at times, when they reflect, betake themselves to complaints about the subtilty of nature, the obscurity of things, and the weakness of man's wit. If they would merely do this, they might perhaps deter those who are of a timid disposition from further inquiry, but would excite and stimulate those of a more active and confident turn to further advances. They are

not, however, satisfied with confessing so much of themselves, but consider every thing which has been either unknown or unattempted by themselves or their teachers, as beyond the limits of possibility; and thus, with most consummate pride and envy, convert the defects of their own discoveries into a calumny on nature, and a source of despair to every one else. Hence arose the new academy, which openly professed skepticism and consigned mankind to eternal darkness. Hence the notion that forms, or the true differences of things, (which are in fact the laws of simple action,) are beyond man's reach, and cannot possibly be discovered. Hence those notions in the active and operative branches; that the heat of the sun and of fire are totally different, so as to prevent men from supposing that they can elicit or form, by means of fire, any thing similar to the operations of nature; and, again, that composition only is the work of man and mixture of nature, so as to prevent men from expecting the generation or transformation of natural bodies by art. Men will, therefore, easily allow themselves to be persuaded by this sign, not to engage their fortunes and labour in speculations, which are not only desperate, but actually devoted to desperation.

76. Nor should we omit the sign afforded by the great dissension formerly prevalant among philosophers, and the variety of schools, which sufficiently show that the way was not well prepared, that leads from the senses to the understanding, since the same groundwork of philosophy (namely, the nature of the things) was torn and divided into such widely differing and multifarious errors. And although, in these days, the dissensions and differences of opinions with regard to first principles and entire systems are nearly extinct, yet there remain innumerable questions and controversies with regard to particular branches of philosophy. So that it is manifest that there is nothing sure or sound either in the systems themselves or in the methods of demonstration.

77. With regard to the supposition that there is a general unanimity as to the philosophy of Aristotle, because the other systems of the ancients ceased and became obsolete on its promulgation, and nothing better has been since discovered; whence it appears that it is so well determined and founded as to have united the suffrages of both ages; we will observe—1st. That the notion of other ancient systems having ceased after the publication of the works of Aristotle is false, for the works of the ancient philosophers subsisted long after that event, even to the time of Cicero and the subsequent ages. But

at a later period, when human learning had, as it were, been wrecked in the inundation of barbarians into the Roman empire, then the systems of Aristotle and Plato were preserved in the waves of ages, like blanks of a lighter and less solid nature. 2d. The notion of unanimity on a clear inspection is found to be fallacious. For true unanimity is that which proceeds from a free judgment arriving at the same conclusion after an investigation of the fact. Now, by far the greater number of those who have assented to the philosophy of Aristotle, have bound themselves down to it, from prejudice and the authority of others, so that it is rather obsequiousness and concurrence than unanimity. But even if it were real and extensive unanimity, so far from being esteemed a true and solid confirmation, it should lead to a violent presumption to the contrary. For there is no worse augury in intellectual matters than that derived from unanimity, with the exception of divinity and politics, where suffrages are allowed to decide. For nothing pleases the multitude, unless it strike the imagination or bind down the understanding, as we have observed above, with the shackles of vulgar notions. Hence we may well transfer Phocion's remark from morals to the intellect: "That men should immediately examine what error or fault they have committed, when the multitude concurs with and applauds them." This, then, is one of the most unfavourable signs. All the signs, therefore, of the truth and soundness of the received systems of philosophy and the sciences are unpropitious, whether taken from their origin, their fruits, their progress, the confessions of their authors, or from unanimity.

78. We now come to the causes of errors, and of such perseverance in them for ages. These are sufficiently numerous and powerful to remove all wonder that what we now offer should have so long been concealed from and have escaped the notice of mankind, and to render it more worthy of astonishment, that it should even now have entered any one's mind or become the subject of his thoughts; and that it should have done so, we consider rather the gift of fortune than of any extraordinary talent, and as the offspring of time rather than wit. But, in the first place, the number of ages is reduced to very narrow limits on a proper consideration of the matter. For, out of twenty-five centuries, with which the memory and learning of man are conversant, scarcely six can be set apart and selected as fertile in science and favourable in its progress. For there are deserts and wastes in times as in countries, and we can only reckon up three revolutions

and epochs of philosophy. 1. The Greek. 2. The Roman. 3. Our own, that is, the philosophy of the western nations of Europe: and scarcely two centuries can with justice be assigned to each. The intermediate ages of the world were unfortunate, both in the quantity and richness of the sciences produced. Nor need we mention the Arabs or the scholastic philosophy which, in those ages, ground down the sciences by their numerous treatises more than they increased their weight. The first cause, then, of such insignificant progress in the sciences is rightly referred to the small proportion of time which has been favourable thereto.

79. A second cause offers itself, which is certainly of the greatest importance; namely, that in those very ages in which men's wit, and literature flourished considerably, or even moderately, but a small part of their industry was bestowed on natural philosophy, the great mother of the sciences. For every art and science torn from this root may, perhaps, be polished and put into a serviceable shape, but can admit of little growth. It is well known that after the Christian religion had been acknowledged and arrived at maturity, by far the best wits were busied upon theology, where the highest rewards offered themselves, and every species of assistance was abundantly supplied, and the study of which was the principal occupation of the western European nations during the third epoch; the rather because literature flourished about the very time when controversies concerning religion first began to bud forth. 2. In the preceding ages, during the second epoch, (that of the Romans,) philosophical meditation and labour was chiefly occupied and wasted in moral philosophy, (the theology of the heathens,) besides, the greatest minds in these times applied themselves to civil affairs, on account of the magnitude of the Roman empire, which required the labour of many. 3. The age during which natural philosophy appeared principally to flourish among the Greeks was but a short period, since in the more ancient times the seven sages (with the exception of Thales) applied themselves to moral philosophy and politics, and at a later period after Socrates had brought down philosophy from heaven to earth, moral philosophy became more prevalent, and diverted men's attention from natural. Nay, the very period during which physical inquiries flourished, was corrupted and rendered useless by contradictions and the ambition of new opinions. Since, therefore, during these three epochs, natural philosophy has been materially neglected or impeded, it is not at all surprising that

men should have made but little progress in it, seeing they were attending to an entirely different matter.

80. Add to this that natural philosophy, especially of late, has seldon gained exclusive possession of an individual free from all other pursuits, even amongst those who have applied themselves to it, unless there may be an example or two of some monk studying in his cell, or some nobleman in his villa. She has rather been made a passage and bridge to other pursuits.

Thus has this great mother of the sciences been degraded most unworthily to the situation of an handmaid, and made to wait upon medicine or mathematical operations, and to wash the immature minds of youth, and imbue them with a first dye, that they may afterwards be more ready to receive and retain another. In the mean time let no one expect any great progress in the sciences, (especially their operative part,) unless natural philosophy be applied to particular sciences, and particular sciences again referred back to natural philosophy. For want of this, astronomy, optics, music, many mechanical arts, medicine itself, and (what perhaps is more wonderful) moral and political philosophy, and the logical sciences have no depth, but only glide over the surface and variety of things; because these sciences, when they have been once partitioned out and established, are no longer nourished by natural philosophy, which would have imparted fresh vigour and growth to them from the sources and genuine contemplation of motion, rays, sounds, texture, and confirmation of bodies, and the affections and capacity of the understanding. Bue we can little wonder that the sciences grow not when separated from their roots.

81. There is another powerful and great cause of the little advancement of the sciences, which is this it is impossible to advance properly in the course when the goal is not properly fixed. But the real and legitimate goal of the sciences is the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches. The great crowd of teachers know nothing of this, but consist of dictatorial hirelings: unless it so happen that some artisan of an acute genius and ambitious of fame gives up his time to a new discovery, which is generally attended with a loss of property. The majority, so far from proposing to themselves the augmentation of the mass of arts and sciences, make no other use of an inquiry into the mass already before them, than is afforded by the conversion of it to some use in their lectures, or to gain, or to the acquirement of a name and the like. But if one out of the multitude be found, who courts science from real zeal and on its own account,

even he will be seen rather to follow contemplation and the variety of theories than a severe and strict investigation of truth. Again, if there even be an unusually strict investigator of truth, yet will he propose to himself as the test of truth the satisfaction of his mind and understanding, as to the causes of things long since known, and not such a test as to lead to some new earnest of effects, and a new light in axioms. If, therefore, no one have laid down the real end of science, we cannot wonder that there should be error in points subordinate to that end.

82. But, in like manner as the end and goal of science is ill defined, so, even were the case otherwise, men have chosen an erroneous and impassable direction. For it is sufficient to astonish any reflecting mind, that nobody should have cared or wished to open and complete a way for the understanding, setting off from the senses and regular, well conducted experiment; but that every thing has been abandoned either to the mists of tradition, the whirl and confusion of argument, or the waves and mazes of chance, and desultory, illcombined experiment. Now, let any one but consider soberly and diligently the nature of the path men have been accustomed to pursue in the investigation and discovery of any matter, and he will doubtless first observe the rude and inartificial manner: which is no other than this. When any one prepares himself for discovery, he first inquires and obtains a full account of all that has been said on the subject by others, then adds his own reflections, and stirs up and, as it were, invokes his own spirit, after much mental labour, to disclose its oracles. All which is a method without foundation and merely turns on opinion.

Another perhaps calls in logic to assist him in discovery, which bears only a nominal relation to his purpose. For the discoveries of logic are not discoveries of principles and leading axioms, but only of what appears to accord with them. And when men become curious and importunate and give trouble, interrupting her about her proofs and the discovery of principles or first axioms, she puts them off with her usual answer, referring them to faith, and ordering them to swear allegiance to each art in its own department.

There remains but mere experience, which when it offers itself is called chance; when it is sought after, experiment. But this kind of experience is nothing but a loose faggot, and mere groping in the dark, as men at night try all means of discovering the right road, whilst it would be better and more prudent either to wait for day or procure a light and then proceed. On the contrary the real order of experience

begins by setting up a light, and then shows the road by it, commencing with a regulated and digested, not a misplaced and vague course of experiment, and thence deducing axioms, and from those axioms new experiments: for not even the Divine Word proceeded to operate on the general mass of things without due order.

Let men therefore cease to wonder if the whole course of science be not run, when all have wandered from the path; quitting entirely and deserting experience, or involving themselves in its mazes, and wandering about, whilst a regularly combined system would lead them in a sure track through its wilds to the open day of axioms.

83. The evil, however, has been wonderfully increased by an opinion, or inveterate conceit, which is both vainglorious and prejudicial, namely, that the dignity of the human mind is lowered by long and frequent intercourse with experiments and particulars, which are the objects of sense and confined to matter; especially since such matters generally require labour in investigation, are mean subjects for meditation, harsh in discourse, unproductive in practice, infinite in number, and delicate in their subtilty. Hence we have seen the true path not only deserted, but intercepted and blocked up, experience being rejected with disgust, and not merely neglected or improperly applied.

84. Again, the reverence for antiquity and the authority of men who have been esteemed great in philosophy, and general unanimity, have retarded men from advancing in science, and almost enchanted them. As to unanimity, we have spoken of it above.

The opinion which men cherish of antiquity is altogether idle, and scarcely accords with the term. For the old age and increasing years of the world should in reality be considered as antiquity, and this is rather the character of our own times than of the less advanced age of the world in those of the ancients. For the latter, with respect to ourselves, are ancient and elder, with respect to the world, modern and younger. And as we expect a greater knowledge of human affairs and more mature judgment from an old man, than from a youth, on account of his experience, and the variety and number of things he has seen, heard, and meditated upon; so we have reason to expect much greater things of our own age, (if it knew but its strength and would essay and exert it,) than from antiquity, since the world has grown older, and its stock has been increased and accumulated with an infiinite number of experiments and observations. We must also take into our consideration that many objects in nature fit to throw light upon philosophy have been exposed to our view and discovered by

means of long voyages and travels, in which our times have abounded. It would indeed be dishonourable to mankind, if the regions of the material globe, the earth, the sea, and stars should be so prodigiously developed and illustrated in our age, and yet the boundaries of the intellectual globe should be confined to the narrow discoveries of the ancients.

With regard to authority, it is the greatest weakness to attribute infinite credit to particular authors, and to refuse his own prerogative to time, the author of all authors, and, therefore, of all authority. For, truth is rightly named the daughter of time, not of authority. It is not wonderful, therefore, if the bonds of antiquity, authority, and unanimity, have so enchained the power of man, that he is unable (as if bewitched) to become familiar with things themselves.

85. Nor is it only the admiration of antiquity, authority, and unanimity, that has forced man's industry to rest satisfied with present discoveries, but also the admiration of the effects already placed within his power. For, whoever passes in review the variety of subjects, and the beautiful apparatus collected and introduced by the mechanical arts for the service of mankind, will certainly be rather inclined to admire our wealth than to perceive our poverty; not considering that the observations of man and operations of nature (which are the souls and first movers of the variety) are few, and not of deep research; the rest must be attributed merely to man's patience and the delicate and well regulated motion of the hand or of instruments. To take an instance, the manufactory of clocks is delicate and accurate, and appears to imitate the heavenly bodies in its wheels, and the pulse of animals in its regular oscillation, yet it only depends upon one or two axioms of nature.

Again, if one consider the refinement of the liberal arts, or even that exhibited in the preparation of natural bodies in mechanical arts and the like; as the discovery of the heavenly motions in astronomy, of harmony in music, of the letters of the alphabet (still unadopted by the Chinese) in grammar; or, again, in mechanical operations, the productions of Bacchus and Ceres, that is, the preparation of wine and beer, the making of bread, or even the luxuries of the table, distillation, and the like; if one reflect also and consider for how long a period of ages (for all the above, except distillation, are ancient) these things have been brought to their present state of perfection, and, as we instanced in clocks, to how few observations and axioms of nature they may be referred, and how easily, and, as it were, by obvious

chance or contemplation they might be discovered, one would soon cease to admire and rather pity the human lot, on account of its vast want and dearth of things and discoveries for so many ages. Yet, even the discoveries we have mentioned were more ancient than philosophy, and the intellectual arts; so that, to say the truth, when contemplation and doctrinal science began, the discovery of useful works ceased.

But if any one turn from the manufactories to libraries, and be inclined to admire the immense variety of books offered to our view, let him but examine and diligently inspect the matter and contents of these books, and his astonishment will certainly change its object: for when he finds no end of repetitions, and how much men do and speak the same thing over again, he will pass from admiration of this variety to astonishment at the poverty and scarcity of matter, which has hitherto possessed and filled men's mind.

But if any one should condescend to consider such sciences as are deemed rather curious than sound, and take a full view of the operations of the alchymists or magi, he will perhaps hesitate whether he ought rather to laugh or to weep. For the alchymist cherishes eternal hope, and when his labours succeed not, accuses his own mistakes, deeming, in his self-accusation, that he has not properly understood the words of art, or of his authors; upon which he listens to tradition and vague whispers, or imagines there is some slight unsteadiness in the minute details of his practice, and then has recourse to an endless repetition of experiments; and, in the mean time, when in his casual experiments he falls upon something in appearance new, or of some degree of utility, he consoles himself with such an earnest, and ostentatiously publishes them, keeping up his hope of the final result. Nor can it be denied that the alchymists have made several discoveries, and presented mankind with useful inventions. But we may well apply to them the fable of the old man, who bequeathed to his sons some gold buried in his garden, pretending not to know the exact spot, whereupon they worked diligently in digging the vineyard, and though they found no gold, the vintage was rendered more abundant by their labour.

The followers of natural magic, who explain every thing by sympathy and antipathy, have assigned false powers and marvellous operations to things, by gratuitous and idle conjectures: and if they have ever produced any effects, they are rather wonderful and novel than of any real benefit or utility.

In superstitious magic, (if we say any thing at all about it,) we must chiefly observe, that there are only some peculiar and definite objects with which the curious and superstitious arts have in every nation and age, and even under every religion, been able to exercise and amuse themselves. Let us, therefore, pass them over. In the mean time we cannot wonder that the false notion of plenty should have occasioned want.

86. The admiration of mankind with regard to the arts and sciences, which is of itself sufficiently simple and almost puerile, has been increased by the craft and artifices of those who have treated the sciences and delivered them down to posterity. For they propose and produce them to our view so fashioned, and as it were masked, as to make them pass for perfect and complete. For, if you consider their method and divisions, they appear to embrace and comprise every thing which can relate to the subject. And although this frame be badly filled up, and resemble an empty bladder, yet it presents to the vulgar understanding the form and appearance of a perfect science.

The first and most ancient investigators of truth were wont, on the contrary, with more honesty and success, to throw all the knowledge they wished to gather from contemplation, and to lay up for use, into aphorisms, or short, scattered sentences, unconnected by any method, and without pretending or professing to comprehend any entire art. But, according to the present system, we cannot wonder that men seek nothing beyond that which is handed down to them as perfect, and already extended to its full complement.

87. The ancient theories have received additional support and credit, from the absurdity and levity of those who have promoted the new, especially in the active and practical part of natural philosophy. For there have been many silly and fantastical fellows who, from credulity or imposture, have loaded mankind with promises, announcing and boasting of the prolongation of life, the retarding of old age, the alleviation of pains, the remedying of natural defects, the deception of the senses, the restraint and excitement of the passions, the illumination and exaltation of the intellectual faculties, the transmutation of substances, the unlimited intensity and multiplication of motion, the impressions and changes of the air, the bringing into our power the management of celestial influences, the divination of future events, the representation of distant objects, the revelation of hidden objects and the like. One would not be very wrong in observing, with regard to such pretenders, that there is as much difference in philosophy, be-

tween their absurdity and real science, as there is in history between the exploits of Cæsar or Alexander, and those of Amadis de Gaul and Arthur of Britain. For those illustrious generals are found to have actually performed greater exploits, than such fictitious heroes are even pretended to have accomplished, by the means, however, of real action, and not by any fabulous and portentous power. Yet it is not right to suffer our belief in true history to be diminished, because it is sometimes injured and violated by fables. In the mean time we cannot wonder that great prejudice has been excited against any new propositions (especially when coupled with any mention of effects to be produced) by the conduct of impostors who have made a similar attempt, for their extreme absurdity and the disgust occasioned by it, has even to this day overpowered every spirited attempt of the kind.

88. Want of energy, and the littleness and futility of the tasks that human industry has undertaken, have produced much greater injury to the sciences: and yet (to make it still worse) that very want of energy manifests itself in conjunction with arrogance and disdain,

For, in the first place, one excuse now from its repetition become familiar, is to be observed in every art, namely, that its promoters convert the weakness of the art itself into a calumny upon nature: and whatever it in their hands fails to effect, they pronounce to be physically impossible. But how can the art ever be condemned, whilst it acts as judge in its own cause? Even the present system of philosophy cherishes in its bosom certain positions or dogmas, which (it will be found on diligent inquiry) are calculated to produce a full conviction that not difficult, commanding, and powerful operation upon nature, ought to be anticipated through the means of art; we instanced above, the alleged different quality of heat in the sun and fire, and composition and mixture. Upon an accurate observation, the whole tendency of such positions is willfully to circumscribe man's power, and to produce a despair of the means of invention and contrivance, which would not only confound the promises of hope, but cut the very springs and sinews of industry, and throw aside even the chances of experience. The only object of such philosophers is, to acquire the reputation of perfection for their own art, and they are anxious to obtain the most silly and abondoned renown, by causing a belief that whatever has not yet been invented and understood, can never be so hereafter. But if any one attempt to give himself up to things, and to discover something new, yet he will only propose and destine for this object, the investigation and discovery of some one invention, and nothing more;

as the nature of the magnet, the tides, the heavenly system and the like, which appear enveloped in some degree of mystery, and have hitherto been treated with but little success. Now, it is the greatest proof of want of skill, to investigate the nature of any object in itself alone; for that same nature, which seems concealed and hidden in some instances, is manifest and almost palpable in others; and excites wonder in the former, whilst it hardly attracts attention in the latter. Thus the nature of consistency is scarcely observed in wood or stone, but passed over by the term *solid,* without any further inquiry about the repulsion of separation, or the solution of continuity. But in water-bubbles the same circumstance appears matter of delicate and ingenious research, for they form themselves into thin pellicles, curiously shaped into hemispheres, so as for an instant to avoid the solution of continuity.

In general, those very things which are considered as secret, are manifest and common in other objects, but will never be clearly seen if the experiments and contemplation of man be directed to themselves only. Yet it commonly happens, that if, in the mechanical arts, any one bring old discoveries to a finer polish, or more elegant height of ornament, or unite and compound them, or apply them more readily to practice, or exhibit them on a less heavy and voluminous scale, and the like, they will pass off as new.

We cannot, therefore, wonder that no magnificent discoveries, worthy of mankind, have been brought to light, whilst men are satisfied and delighted with such scanty and puerile tasks, nay, even think that they have pursued or attained some great object in their accomplishment.

89. Nor should we neglect to observe that natural philosophy has, in every age, met with a troublesome and difficult opponent: I mean superstition, and a blind and immoderate zeal for religion. For we see that among the Greeks those who first disclosed the natural causes of thunder and storms to the yet untrained ears of man, were condemned as guilty of impiety towards the gods. Nor did some of the old fathers of Christianity treat those much better who showed by the most positive proofs (such as no one now disputes) that the earth is spherical, and thence asserted that there were antipodes.

Even in the present state of things, the condition of discussions on natural philosophy is rendered more difficult and dangerous by the summaries and methods of divines, who, after reducing divinity into such order as they could, and brought it into a scientific form, have

proceeded to mingle an undue proportion of the contentious and thorny philosophy of Aristotle with the substance of religion.

The fictions of those who have not feared to deduce and confirm the truth of the Christian religion by the principles and authority of philosophers, tend to the same end, though in a different manner. They celebrate the union of faith and the senses as though it were legitimate, with great pomp and solemnity, and gratify men's pleasing minds with a variety, but, in the mean time, confound most improperly things divine and human. Moreover, in these mixtures of divinity and philosophy, the received doctrines of the latter are alone included, and any novelty, even though it be an improvement, scarcely escapes banishment and extermination.

In short, you may find all access to any species of philosophy, however pure, intercepted by the ignorance of divines. Some, in their simplicity, are apprehensive that a too deep inquiry into nature may penetrate beyond the proper bounds of decorum, transferring and absurdly applying what is said of sacred mysteries in holy writ against those who pry into divine secrets, to the mysteries of nature, which are not forbidden by any prohibition. Others, with more cunning, imagine and consider that if secondary causes be unknown, every thing may more easily be referred to the divine hand and wand; a matter, as they think, of the greatest consequence to religion, but which can only really mean that God wishes to be gratified by means of falsehood. Others fear from past example, lest motion and change in philosophy should terminate in an attack upon religion. Lastly, there are others who appear anxious lest there should be something discovered in the investigation of nature to overthrow, or at least shake religion, particularly among the unlearned. The two last apprehensions appear to resemble animal instinct, as if men were diffident, in the bottom of their minds, and secret meditations, of the strength of religion, and the empire of faith over the senses; and therefore feared that some danger awaited them from an inquiry into nature. But any one who properly considers the subject, will find natural philosophy to be, after the word of God, the surest remedy against superstition, and the most approved support of faith. She is therefore rightly bestowed upon religion as a most faithful attendant, for the one exhibits the will and the other the power of God. Nor was he wrong who observed, "Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures and the power of God;" thus uniting in one bond the revelation of his will, and the contemplation of his power. In the mean while it is not wonderful that the progress of natural phi-

losophy has been restrained, since religion, which has so much influence on men's minds, has been led and hurried to oppose her through the ignorance of some and the imprudent zeal of others.

90. Again, in the habits and regulations of schools, universities, and the like assemblies, destined for the abode of learned men, and the improvement of learning, every thing is found to be opposed to the progress of the sciences. For the lectures and exercises are so ordered, that any thing out of the common track can scarcely enter the thoughts and contemplations of the mind. If, however, one or two have perhaps dared to use their liberty, they can only impose the labour on themselves, without deriving any advantage from the association of others: and if they put up with this, they will find their industry and spirit of no slight disadvantage to them in making their fortune. For the pursuits of men in such situations are, as it were, chained down to the writings of particular authors, and if any one dare to dissent from them, he is immediately attacked as a turbulent and revolutionary spirit. Yet how great is the difference between civil matters and the arts; for there is not the same danger from new activity and new light. In civil matters even a change for the better is suspected on account of the commotion it occasions; for civil government is supported by authority, unanimity, fame, and public opinion, and not by demonstration. In the arts and sciences, on the contrary, every department should resound, as in mines, with new works and advances. And this is the rational, though not the actual view of the case: for that administration and government of science we have spoken of, is wont too rigorously to repress its growth.

91. And even should the odium I have alluded to be avoided, yet it is sufficient to repress the increase of science that such attempts and industry was unrewarded. For the cultivation of science and its reward belong not to the same individual. The advancement of science is the work of a powerful genius, the prize and reward belong to the vulgar or the princes, who (with a few exceptions) are scarcely moderately well informed. Nay, such progress is not only deprived of the rewards and beneficience of individuals, but even of popular praise: for it is above the reach of the generality, and easily overwhelmed and extinguished by the winds of common opinions. It is not wonderful, therefore, that little success has attended that which has been little honoured.

92. But by far the greatest obstacle to the advancement of the sciences and the understanding of any new attempt or department is

to be found in men's despair and the idea of impossibility. For men of a prudent and exact turn of thought are altogether diffident in matters of this nature, considering the obscurity of nature, and the shortness of life, the deception of the senses, and weakness of the judgment. They think, therefore, that in the revolutions of ages and of the world there are certain floods and ebbs of the sciences, and that they grow and flourish at one time, and wither and fall off at another, that when they have attained a certain degree and condition they can proceed no further.

If, therefore, any one believe or promise greater things, they impute it to an uncurbed and immature mind, and imagine that such efforts begin pleasantly, then become laborious, and end in confusion. And since such thoughts easily enter the minds of men of dignity and excellent judgment, we must really take heed lest we should be captivated by our affection for an excellent and most beautiful object, and relax or diminish the severity of our judgment! and we must diligently examine what gleam of hope shines upon us, and in what direction it manifests itself, so that, banishing her lighter dreams, we may discuss and weigh whatever appears of more sound importance. We must consult the prudence of ordinary life, too, which is diffident upon principle, and in all human matters augurs the worst. Let us then speak of hope, especially as we are not vain promisers, nor are willing to force or ensnare men's judgment, but would rather lead them willingly forward. And, although we shall employ the most cogent means of enforcing hope when we bring them to particulars, and especially those which are digested and arranged in our Tables of Invention, (the subject partly of the second, but principally of the fourth part of the Instauration,) which are indeed rather the very object of our hopes than hope itself; yet to proceed more leniently, we must treat of the preparation of men's minds, of which the manifestation of hope forms no slight part. For, without it, all that we have said tends rather to produce a gloom than to encourage activity or quicken the industry of experiment, by causing them to have a worse and more contemptuous opinion of things as they are than they now entertain, and to perceive and feel more thoroughly their unfortunate condition. We must therefore disclose and prefix our reasons for not thinking the hope of success improbable, as Columbus before his wonderful voyage over the Atlantic gave the reasons of his conviction that new lands and continents might be discovered besides those already known. And these reasons though at first rejected, were yet proved by subsequent

experience, and were the causes and beginnings of the greatest events.

93. Let us begin from God, and show that our pursuit from its exceeding goodness clearly proceeds from him, the Author of good and Father of light. Now, in all divine works, the smallest beginning lead assuredly to some result, and the remark in spiritual matters that "The kingdom of God cometh without observation," is also found to be true in every great work of divine Providence; so that every thing glides quietly on without confusion or noise, and the matter is achieved before men either think or perceive that it is commenced. Nor should we neglect to mention the prophecy of Daniel of the last days of the world, "Many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased," thus plainly hinting and suggesting that Fate (which is Providence) would cause the complete circuit of the globe, (now accomplished, or at least going forward by means of so many distant voyages,) and the increase of learning, to happen at the same epoch.
the errors of the past, and the ways still unattempted. For well was an ill governed state thus reproved. "That which is worst with regard to the past, should appear most consolatory for the future. For if you had done all that your duty commanded, and your affairs proceeded no better, you could not even hope for their improvement; but since their present unhappy situation is not owing to the force of circumstances, but to your own errors, you have reason to hope, that by banishing or correcting the latter, you can produce a great change for the better in the former." So, if men had, during the many years that have elapsed, adhered to the right way of discovering and cultivating the sciences without being able to advance, it would be assuredly bold and presumptuous to imagine it possible to improve; but if they have mistaken the way and wasted their labour on improper objects, it follows that the difficulty does not arise from things themselves, which are not in our power, but from the human understanding, its practice and application, which is susceptible of remedy and correction. Our best plan, therefore, is to expose these errors. For, in proportion as they impeded the past, so do they afford reason to hope for the future. And although we have touched upon them above, yet we think it right to give a brief, bare, and simple enumeration of them in this place.

95. Those who have treated of the sciences have been either empirics or dogmatical. The former like ants only heap up and use their store, the latter like spiders spin out their own webs. The bee, a mean between both, extracts matter from the flowers of the garden and the field, but works and fashions it by its own efforts. The true labour

of philosophy resembles hers, for it neither relies entirely or principally on the powers of the mind, nor yet lays up in the memory, the matter afforded by the experiments of natural history or mechanics in its raw state, but changes and works it in the understanding. We have good reason, therefore, to derive hope from a closer and purer alliance of these faculties (the experimental and rational), than has yet been attempted.

96. Natural philosophy is not yet to be found unadulterated, but is impure and corrupted; by logic in the school of Aristotle, by natural theology in that of Plato, by mathematics in the second school of Plato, (that of Proclus and others,) which ought rather to terminate natural philosophy than to generate or create it. We may, therefore, hope for better results from pure and unmixed natural philosophy.

97. No one has yet been found possessed of sufficient firmness and severity, to resolve upon and undertake the task of entirely abolishing common theories and notions, and applying the mind afresh, when thus cleared and levelled, to particular researches. Hence our human reasoning is a mere farrago and crude mass, made up of a great deal of credulity and accident, and the puerile notions it originally contracted.

But if a man of mature age, unprejudiced senses, and clear mind, would betake himself anew to experience and particulars, we might hope much more from such a one. In which respect we promise ourselves the fortune of Alexander the Great, and let none accuse us of vanity till they have heard the tale, which is intended to check vanity.

For Æschines spoke thus of Alexander and his exploits: "We live not the life of mortals, but are born at such a period that posterity will relate and declare our prodigies." As if he considered the exploits of Alexander to be miraculous.

But in succeeding ages Livy took a better view of the fact, and has made some such observation as this upon Alexander: "That he did no more than dare to despise insignificance." So in our opinion posterity will judge of us, "That we have achieved no great matters, but only set less account upon what is considered important." For the mean time (as we have before observed) our only hope is in the regeneration of the sciences, but regularly raising them on the foundation of experience and building them anew, which I think none can venture to affirm to have been already done or even thought of.

98. The foundations of experience (our sole resource) have hitherto failed completely or have been very weak; nor has a store and

a collection of particular facts capable of informing the mind or in any way satisfactory, been either sought after or amassed. On the contrary, learned, but idle and indolent men received some mere reports of experience, traditions, as it were, of dreams, as establishing or confirming their philosophy; and have not hesitated to allow them the weight of legitimate evidence. So that a system has been pursued in philosophy with regard to experience, resembling that of a kingdom or state which would direct its councils and affairs according to the gossip of city and street politicians, instead of the letters and reports of ambassadors and messengers worthy of credit. Nothing is rightly inquired into, or verified, noted, weighed, or measured, in natural history. Indefinite and vague observation produces fallacious and uncertain information. If this appear strange or our complaint somewhat too unjust, (because Aristotle himself, so distinguished a man, and supported by the wealth of so great a king, has completed an accurate history of animals, to which others with greater diligence but less noise have made considerable additions, and others again have composed copious histories and notices of plants, metals, and fossils,) it will arise from a want of sufficiently attending to and comprehending our present observations. For a natural history compiled on its own account, and one collected for the mind's information as a foundation for philosophy, are two different things. They differ in several respects, but principally in this; the former contains only the varieties of natural species without the experiments of mechanical arts. For as in ordinary life every person's disposition, and the concealed feelings of the mind and passions are most drawn out when they are disturbed; so the secrets of nature betray themselves more readily when tormented by art, than when left to their own course. We must begin, therefore, to entertain hopes of natural philosophy then only, when we have a better compilation of natural history, its real basis and support.

99. Again, even in the abundance of mechanical experiments there is a very great scarcity of those which best inform and assist the understanding. For the mechanic, little solicitous about the investigation of truth, neither directs his attention nor applies his hand to any thing that is not of service to his business. But our hope of further progress in the sciences will then only be well founded, when numerous experiments shall be received and collected into natural history, which, though of no use in themselves, assist materially in the discovery of causes and axioms: which experiments we have termed enlightening,

to distinguish them from those which are *profitable.* They possess this wonderful property and nature, that they never deceive or fail you, for, being used only to discover the natural cause of some object, whatever be the result, they equally satisfy your aim by deciding the question.

100. We must not only search for and procure a greater number of experiments, but also introduce a completely different method, order, and progress of continuing and promoting experience. For vague and arbitrary experience is (as we have observed) mere groping in the dark, and rather astonishes than instructs. But when experience shall proceed regularly and uninterrupedly by a determined rule, we may entertain better hopes of the sciences.

101. But after having collected and prepared an abundance and store of natural history, and of the experience required for the operations of the understanding, or philosophy; still the understanding is as capable of acting on such materials of itself with the aid of memory alone, as any person would be of retaining and achieving by memory the computation of an almanac. Yet meditation has hitherto done more for discovery than writing, and no experiments have been committed to paper. We cannot, however, approve of any mode of discovery without writing, and when that comes into more general use we may have further hopes.

102. Besides this, there is such a multitude and host as it were of particular objects, and lying so widely dispersed as to distract and confuse the understanding; and we can therefore hope for no advantage from its skirmishing, and quick movements and incursions, unless we put its forces in due order and array by means of proper, and well arranged, and as it were living tables of discovery of these matters which are the subject of investigation, and the mind then apply itself to the ready prepared and digested aid which such tables afford.

103. When we have thus properly and regularly placed before the eyes a collection of particulars, we must not immediately proceed to the investigation and discovery of new particulars or effects, or, at least, if we do so, must not rest satisfied therewith. For, though we do not deny that by transferring the experiments from one art to another, (when all the experiments of each have been collected and arranged, and have been acquired by the knowledge and subjected to the judgment of a single individual,) many new experiments may be discovered, tending to benefit society and mankind, by what we term

literate experience; yet comparatively insignificant results are to be expected thence, whilst the more important are to be derived from the new light of axioms, deduced by certain method and rule from the above particulars, and pointing out and defining new particulars in their turn. Our road is not along a plain, but rises and falls, ascending to axioms and descending to effects.

104. Nor can we suffer the understanding to jump and fly from particulars to remote and most general axioms, (such as are termed the principles of arts and things,) and thus prove and make out their intermediate axioms according to the supposed unshaken truth of the former. This, however, has always been done to the present time from the natural bent of the understanding, educated, too, and accustomed to this very method by the syllogistic mode of demonstration. But we can then only augur well for the sciences, when the ascent shall proceed by a true scale and successive steps, without interruption or breach, from particulars to the lesser axioms, thence to the intermediate, (rising one above the other,) and lastly to the most general. For the lowest axioms differ but little from bare experiment, the highest and most general (as they are esteemed at present) are notional, abstract, and of no real weight. The intermediate are true, solid, full of life, and upon them depend the business and fortune of mankind; beyond these are really general, but not abstract, axioms, which are truly limited by the intermediate.

We must not then add wings, but rather lead and ballast to the understanding, to prevent its jumping or flying, which has not yet been done; but whenever this takes place we may entertain greater hopes of the sciences.

105. In forming axioms, we must invent a different form of induction from that hitherto in use; not only for the proof and discovery of principles, (as they are called,) but also of minor intermediate, and in short every kind of axioms. The induction which proceeds by simple enumeration is puerile, leads to uncertain conclusions, and is exposed to danger from one contradictory instance, deciding generally from too small a number of facts, and those only the most obvious. But a really useful induction for the discovery and demonstration of the arts and sciences should separate nature by proper rejections and exclusions, and then conclude for the affirmative, after collecting a sufficient number of negatives. Now, this has not been done, or even attempted, except perhaps by Plato, who certainly uses this form of induction in some measure, to lift definitions and ideas. But much

of what has never yet entered the thoughts of man, must necessarily be employed in order to exhibit a good and legitimate mode of induction, or demonstration; so as even to render it essential for us to bestow more pains upon it than have hitherto been bestowed on syllogisms. The assistance of induction is to serve us not only in the discovery of axioms, but also in defining our notions. Much indeed is to be hoped from such an induction as has been described.

106. In forming our axioms from induction, we must examine and try, whether the axiom we derive, be only fitted and calculated for the particular instances from which it is deduced, or whether it be more extensive and general. If it be the latter, we must observe, whether it confirm it own extent and generality, by giving surety, as it were, in pointing out new particulars, so that we may neither stop at actual discoveries, nor with a careless grasp catch at shadows and abstract forms, instead of substances of a determinate nature; and as soon as we act thus, well authorized hopes may with reason be said to beam upon us.

107. Here, too, we may again repeat what we have said above, concerning the extending of natural philosophy, and reducing particular sciences to that one, so as to prevent any schism or dismembering of the sciences; without which we cannot hope to advance.

108. Such are the observations we would make, in order to remove despair and excite hope, by bidding farewell to the errors of past ages, or by their correction. Let us examine whether there be other grounds for hope. And, first, if many useful discoveries have occurred to mankind by chance or opportunity, without investigation or attention on their part, it must necessarily be acknowledged that much more may be brought to light by investigation and attention, if it be regular and orderly, not hasty and interrupted. For, although it may now and then happen that one falls by chance upon something that had before escaped considerable effort and laborious inquiries, yet, undoubtedly, the reverse is generally the case. We may, therefore, hope for further, better, and more frequent results from man's reason, industry, method, and application, than from chance and mere animal instinct, and the like, which have hitherto been the sources of invention.

109. We may also derive some reason for hope, from the circumstance of several actual inventions being of such a nature, that scarcely any one could have formed a conjecture about them, previously to their discovery, but would rather have ridiculed them as impossible. For men are wont to guess about new subjects, from those

they are already acquainted with, and the hasty and vitiated fancies they have thence formed: than which there cannot be a more fallacious mode of reasoning, because much of that which is derived from the sources of things, does not flow in their usual channel. If, for instance, before the discovery of cannon, one had described its effects in the following manner: "There is a new invention, by which walls and the greatest bulwarks can be shaken and overthrown from a considerable distance," men would have begun to contrive various means of multiplying the force of projectiles and machines, by means of weights and wheels, and other modes of battering and projecting. But it is improbable that any imagination or fancy would have hit upon a fiery blast expanding and developing itself so suddenly and violently, because none would have seen an instance at all resembling it, except perhaps in earthquakes or thunder, which they would have immediately rejected as the great operations of nature, not to be imitated by man.

So if, before the discovery of silk thread, any one had observed, "that a species of thread had been discovered, fit for dresses and furniture, far surpassing the thread of worsted or flax in fineness, and at the same time in tenacity, beauty, and softness," men would have begun to imagine something about Chinese plants, or the fine hair of some animals, or the feathers or down of birds, but certainly would never have had an idea of its being spun by a small worm, in so copious a manner, and renewed annually. But if any one had ventured to suggest the silk worm, he would have been laughed at, as if dreaming of some new manufacture from spiders.

So, again, if before the discovery of the compass, any one had said, "that an instrument had been invented, by which the quarters and points of the heavens could be exactly taken and distinguished," men would have entered into disquisitions on the refinement of astronomical instruments, and the like, from the excitement of their imaginations; but the thought of any thing being discovered, which not being a celestial body, but a mere mineral or metallic substance, should yet in its motion agree with that of such bodies, would have appeared absolutely incredible. Yet were these facts, and the like (unknown for so many years) not discovered at last, either by philosophy or reasoning, but by chance and opportunity; and (as we have observed) they are of a nature most heterogeneous, and remote from what was hitherto known, so that no previous knowledge could lead to them.

We may, therefore, well hope that many axcellent and useful mat-

ters are yet treasured up in the bosom of nature, bearing no relation or analogy to our actual discoveries, but out of the common track of our imagination, and still undiscovered; and which will doubtless be brought to light in the course and lapse of years, as the others have been before them; but in the way we now point out, they may rapidly and at once be both represented and anticipated.

110. There are moreover some inventions which render it probable that men may pass and hurry over the most noble discoveries which lie immediately before them. For, however the discovery of gunpowder, silk, the compass, sugar, paper, or the like, may appear to depend on peculiar properties of things and nature, printing at least involves no contrivance which is not clear and almost obvious. But from want of observing that although the arrangement of the types of letters required more trouble than writing with the hand, yet these types once arranged serve for innumerable impressions, whilst manuscript only affords one copy; and again, from want of observing that ink might be thickened so as to stain without running, (which was necessary, seeing the letters face upwards, and the impression is made from above,) this most beautiful invention (which assists so materially the propagation of learning) remained unknown for so many ages.

The human mind is often so awkward and ill regulated in the career of invention, that it is at first diffident, and then despises itself. For it appears at first incredible that any such discovery should be made, and when it has been made, it appears incredible that it should so long have escaped men's research. All which affords good reason for the hope that a vast mass of inventions yet remains, which may be deduced not only from the investigation of new modes of operation, but also from transferring, comparing, and applying these already known, by the method of what we have termed literate experience.

111. Nor should we omit another ground of hope. Let men only consider (if they will) their infinite expenditure of talent, time, and fortune, in matters and studies of far inferior importance and value: a small portion of which applied to sound and solid learning would be sufficient to overcome every difficulty. And we have thought right to add this observation, because we candidly own that such a collection of natural and experimental history as we have traced in our own mind, and as is really necessary, is a great, and, as it were, royal work, requiring much labour and expense.

112. In the mean time, let no one be alarmed at the multitude of particulars, but rather inclined to hope on that very account. For the

particular phenomena of the arts and nature are in reality but as a handful, when compared with the fictions of the imagination, removed and separated from the evidence of facts. The termination of our method is clear, and I had almost said, near at hand; the other admits of no termination, but only of infinite confusion. For men have hitherto dwelt but little, or rather only slightly touched upon experience, whilst they have wasted much time on theories and the fictions of the imagination. If we had but any one who could actually answer our interrogations of nature, the invention of all causes and sciences would be the labour of but a few years.

113. We think some ground of hope is afforded by our own example, which is not mentioned for the sake of boasting, but as a useful remark. Let those who distrust their own powers observe myself, one who have amongst my contemporaries been the most engaged in public business, who am not very strong in health, (which causes a great loss of time,) and am the first explorer of this course, following the guidance of none, nor even communicating my thoughts to a single individual; yet having once firmly entered in the right way, and submitting the powers of my mind to things, I have somewhat advanced (as I make bold to think) the matter I now treat of. Then let others consider what may be hoped from men who enjoy abundant leisure, from united labours, and the succession of ages, after these suggestions on our part, especially in a course which is not confined, like theories, to individuals, but admits of the best distribution and union of labour and effect, particularly in collecting experiments. For men will then only begin to know their own power, when each performs a separate part, instead of undertaking in crowds the same work.

114. Lastly, though a much more faint and uncertain breeze of hope were to spring up from our new continent, yet we consider it necessary to make the experiment, if we would not show a dastard spirit. For the risk attending want of success is not to be compared with that of neglecting the attempt; the former is attended with the loss of a little human labour, the latter with that of an immense benefit. For these and other reasons, it appears to us that there is abundant ground to hope, and to induce not only those who are sanguine to make experiment, but even those who are cautious and sober to give their assent.

115. Such are the grounds for banishing despair, hitherto one of the most powerful causes of the delay and restraint to which the sciences have been subjected; in treating of which, we have at the

same time discussed the signs and causes of the errors, idleness, and ignorance, that have prevailed: seeing especially that the more refined causes, which are not open to popular judgment and observation, may be referred to our remarks on the idols of the human mind. Here, too, we should close the demolishing branch of our Instauration, which is comprised in three confutations. 1. The confutation of natural human reason left to itself. 2. The confutation of demonstration. 3. The confutation of theories, or received systems of philosophy and doctrines. Our confutation has followed such a course as was open to it, namely, the exposing of the signs of error, and the producing evidence of the causes of it: for we could adopt no other, differing, as we do, both in first principles and demonstrations from others.

It is time for us, therefore, to come to the art itself, and the rule for the interpretation of nature: there is, however, still something which must not be passed over. For the intent of this first book of aphorisms being to prepare the mind for understanding as well as admitting what follows, we must now, after having cleansed, polished, and levelled its surface, place it in a good position, and, as it were, a benevolent aspect towards our propositions; seeing that prejudice in new matters may be produced not only by the strength of preconceived notions, but also by a false anticipation or expectation of the matter proposed. We shall, therefore, endeavour to induce good and correct opinions of what we offer, although this be only necessary for the moment, and, as it were, laid *out at interest,* until the matter itself be well understood.

116. First, then, we must desire men not to suppose that we are ambitious of founding any philosophical sect, like the ancient Greeks, or some moderns, as Telesius, Patricius, and Severinus. For, neither is this our intention, nor do we think that peculiar abstract opinions on nature and the principles of things, are of much importance to men's fortunes; since it were easy to revive many ancient theories, and to introduce many new ones; as, for instance, many *hypotheses* with regard to the *heavens* can be formed, differing in themselves, and yet sufficiently according with the phenomena.

We bestow not our labor on such theoretical and, at the same time, useless topics. On the contrary, our determination is that of trying whether we can lay a firmer foundation, and extend to a greater distance the boundaries of human power and dignity. And although, here and there, upon some particular points, we hold (in our own opinion) more true and certain, and I might even say, more advan-

tageous tenets, than those in general repute, (which we have collected in the fifth part of our Instauration,) yet we offer no universal or complete theory. The time does not yet appear to us to be arrived, and we entertain no hope of our life being prolonged to the completion of the sixth part of the Instauration, (which is destined for philosophy discovered by the interpretation of nature,) but are content if we proceed quietly and usefully in our intermediate pursuit, scattering, in the mean time, the seeds of less adulterated truth for posterity, and, at least, commence the great work.

117. And, as we pretend not to found a sect, so do we neither offer nor promise particular effects: which may occasion some to object to us, that since we so often speak of effects, and consider every thing in its relation to that end, we ought also to give some earnest of producing them. Our course and method, however, as we have often said, and again repeat, is such as not to deduce effects from effects nor experiments from experiments, (as the empirics do,) but in our capacity of legitimate interpreters of nature, to deduce causes and axioms from effects and experiments; and new effects and experiments from those causes and axioms.

And, although any one of moderate intelligence and ability will observe the indications and sketches of many noble effects in our tables of inventions, (which form the fourth part of the Instauration,) and also in the examples of particular instances cited in the second part, as well as in our observations on history, (which is the subject of the third part,) ye we candidly confess that our present natural history, whether compiled from books or our own inquiries, is not sufficiently copious and well ascertained to satisfy, or even assist, a proper interpretation.

If, therefore, there be any one who is more disposed and prepared for mechanical art, and ingenious in discovering effects, than in the mere management of experiment, we allow him to employ his industry in gathering many of the fruits of our history and tables in his way, and applying them to effects, receiving them as interest till he can obtain the principal. For our own part, having a greater object in view, we condemn all hasty and premature rest in such pursuits, as we would Atalanta's apple (to use a common allusion of ours); for we are not childishly ambitious of golden fruit, but use all our efforts to make the course of art outstrip nature, and we hasten not to reap moss or the green blade, but wait for a ripe harvest.

118. There will be some, without doubt, who, on a perusal of our

history and tables of invention, will meet with some uncertainty, or perhaps fallacy, in the experiments themselves, and will thence, perhaps, imagine that our discoveries are built on false foundations and principles. There is, however, really nothing in this, since it must needs happen in beginnings. For it is the same as if in writing or printing one or two letters were wrongly turned or misplaced, which is no great inconvenience to the reader, who can easily by his own eye correct the error; let men in the same way conclude that many experiments in natural history may be erroneously believed and admitted, which are easily expunged and rejected aferwards by the discovery of causes and axioms. It is, however, true that if these errors in natural history and experiments become great, frequent, and continued, they cannot be corrected and amended by any dexterity of wit or art. If, then, even in *our* natural history, well examined and compiled with such diligence, strictness, and (I might say) reverential scruples, there be now and then something false and erroneous in the details, what must we say of the common natural history, which is so negligent and careless when compared with ours? or of systems of philosophy and the sciences based on such loose soil, or rather quicksand? Let none then be alarmed by such observations.

119. Again, our history and experiments will contain much that is light and common, mean and illiberal, too refined and merely speculative, and, as it were, of no use, and this, perhaps, may divert and alienate the attention of mankind. With regard to what is common; let men reflect, that they have hitherto been used to do nothing but refer and adapt the causes of things of rare occurrence to those of things which more frequently happen, without any investigation of the causes of the latter, taking them for granted and admitted.

Hence they do not inquire into the causes of gravity, the rotation of the heavenly bodies, heat, cold, light, hardness, softness, rarity, density, liquidity, solidity, animation, inanimation, similitude, difference, organic formation, but taking them to be self-evident, manifest, and admitted, they dispute and decide upon other matters of less frequent and familiar occurrence.

But we (who know that no judgment can be formed of that which is rare or remarkable, and much less any thing new brought to light, without a previous regular examination and discovery of the causes of that which is common, and the causes again of those causes) are necessarily compelled to admit the most common objects into our history. Besides, we have observed that nothing has been so injurious

to philosophy as this circumstance, namely, that familiar and frequent objects do not arrest and detain men's contemplation, but are carelessly admitted, and their causes never inquired after; so that information on unknown subjects is not more often wanted than attention to those which are known.

120. With regard to the meanness or even the filthiness of particulars, for which (as Pliny observes) an apology is requisite, such subjects are no less worthy of admission into natural history than the most magnificent and costly: nor do they at all pollute natural history, for the sun enters alike the palace and the privy, and is not thereby polluted. We neither dedicate nor raise a capitol or pyramid to the pride of man, but rear a holy temple in his mind, on the model of the universe, which model therefore we imitate. For that which is deserving of existence is deserving of knowledge, the image of existence. Now, the mean and splendid alike exist. Nay, as the finest odors are sometimes produced from putrid matter, (such as musk and civet,) so does valuable light and information emanate from mean and sordid instances. But we have already said too much, for such fastidious feelings are childish and effiminate.

121. The next point requires a more accurate consideration, namely, that many parts of our history will appear to the vulgar, or even any mind accustomed to the present state of things, fantastically and uselessly refined. Hence we have in regard to this matter said from the first and must again repeat, that we look for experiments that shall afford light rather than profit, imitating the divine creation, which, as we have often observed, only produced light on the first day, and assigned that whole day to its creation, without adding any material work.

If any one then imagine such matters to be of no use, he might equally suppose light to be of no use, because it is neither solid nor material. For in fact the knowledge of simple natures, when sufficiently investigated and defined, resembles light, which though of no great use in itself, affords access to the general mysteries of effects, and with a peculiar power comprehends and draws with it whole bands and troops of effects, and the sources of the most valuable axioms. So, also, the elements of letters have of themselves separately no meaning, and are of no use, yet are they as it were the original matter in the composition and preparation of speech. The seeds of substances whose effect is powerful, are of no use except in their growth, and the scattered rays of light itself avail not unless collected.

But if speculative subtilities give offense, what must we say of the scholastic philosophers who indulged in them to such excess? And those subtilties were wasted on words, or at least common notions, (which is the same thing,) not on things or nature, and alike unproductive of benefit in their origin and their consequences: in no way resembling ours, which are at present useless, but in their consequences of infinite benefit. Let men be assured that all subtile disputes and discursive efforts of the mind are late and preposterous, when they are introduced subsequently to the discovery of axioms, and that their true or at any rate chief opportunity is when experiment is to be weighed and axioms to be derived from it. They otherwise catch and grasp at nature, but never seize or detain her: and we may well apply to nature that which has been said of opportunity or fortune, "that she wears a lock in front, but is bald behind."

In short, we may reply decisively to those who despise any part of natural history as being vulgar, mean, or subtle and useless in its origin, in the words of a poor woman to a haughty prince who had rejected her petition, as unworthy and beneath the dignity of his majesty: "then cease to reign;" for it is quite certain that the empire of nature can neither be obtained nor administered by one who refuses to pay attention to such matters as being poor and too minute.

122. Again, it may be objected to us as being singular and harsh, that we should with one stroke and assault, as it were, banish all authorities and sciences, and that too by our own efforts, without requiring the assistance and support of any of the ancients.

Now, we are aware, that had we been ready to act otherwise than sincerely, it was not difficult to refer our present method to remote ages, prior to those of the Greeks, (since the sciences in all probability flourished more in their natural state, though silently, than when they were paraded with the fifes and trumpets of the Greeks;) or even (in parts at least) to some of the Greeks themselves, and to derive authority and honor from thence; as men of no family labor to raise and form nobility for themselves in some ancient line, by the help of genealogies. Trusting, however, to the evidence of facts, we reject every kind of fiction and imposture: and think it of no more consequence to our subject, whether future discoveries were known to the ancients, and set or rose according to the vicissitudes of events and lapse of ages, than it would be of importance to mankind to know whether the new world be the island of Atlantis, and known to the ancients, or be now discovered for the first time.

With regard to the universal censure we have bestowed, it is quite clear to any one who properly considers the matter, that it is both more probable and more modest than any partial one could have been. For if the errors had not been rooted in the primary notions, some well conducted discoveries must have corrected others that were deficient. But since the errors were fundamental, and of such a nature that men may be said rather to have neglected or passed over things than to have formed a wrong or false judgment of them, it is little to be wondered at, that they did not obtain what they never aimed at, nor arrive at a goal which they had not determined, nor perform a course which they had neither entered upon nor adhered to.

With regard to our presumption, we allow that if we were to assume a power of drawing a more perfect straight line or circle than any one else, by superior steadiness of hand or acuteness of eye, it would lead to a comparison of talent; but if one merely assert that he can draw a more perfect line or circle with a ruler or compassess, than another can by his unassisted hand or eye, he surely cannot be said to boast of much. Now this applies not only to our first original attempt, but also to those who shall hereafter apply themselves to the pursuit. For our method of discovering the sciences, merely levels men's wits, and leaves but little to their superiority, since it achieves everything by the most certain rules and demonstrations. Whence, (as we have often observed,) our attempt is to be attributed to fortune rather than talent, and is the offspring of time rather than of wit. For a certain sort of chance has no less effect upon our thoughts than on our acts and deeds.

123. We may, therefore, apply to ourselves the joke of him who said, "that water and wine drinkers could not think alike," especially as it hits the matter so well. For others, both ancients and moderns, have, in the sciences, drank a crude liquor like water, either flowing of itself from the understanding, or drawn up by logic as the wheel draws up the bucket. But we drink and pledge others with a liquor made of many well ripened grapes, collected and plucked from particular branches, squeezed in the press, and at last clarified and fermented in a vessel. It is not, therefore, wonderful that we should not agree with others.

124. Another objection will, without doubt, be made, namely, that we have not ourselves established a correct, or the best goal or aim of the sciences, (the very defect we blame in others.) For, they will say, that the contemplation of truth is more dignified and exalted than

any utility or extent of effects: but that our dwelling so long and anxiously on experience and matter, and the fluctuating state of particulars, fastens the mind to earth, or rather casts it down into an abyss of confusion and disturbance, and separates and removes it from a much more divine state, the quiet and tranquillity of abstract wisdom. We willingly assent to their reasoning, and are most anxious to effect the very point they hint at and require. For we are founding a real model of the world in the understanding, such as it is found to be, not such as man's reason has distorted. Now, this cannot be done without dissecting and anatomizing the world most diligently; but we declare it necessary to destroy completely the vain, little, and as it were apish imitations of the world, which have been formed in various systems of philosophy by men's fancies. Let men learn (as we have said above) the difference that exists between the idols of the human mind, and the ideas of the Divine mind. The former are mere arbitrary abstractions; the latter the true marks of the Creator on his creatures, as they are imprinted on, and defined in matter, by true and exquisite touches. Truth, therefore, and utility are here perfectly identical, and the effects are of more value as pledges of truth than from the benefit they confer on men.

125. Others may object that we are only doing that which has already been done, and that the ancients followed the same course as ourselves. They may imagine, therefore, that, after all this stir and exertion, we shall at last arrive at some of those systems that prevailed among the ancients: for that they, too, when commencing their meditations, laid up a great store of instances and particulars, and digested them under topics and titles in their commonplace books, and so worked out their systems and arts, and then decided upon what they discovered, and related now and then some examples to confirm and throw light upon their doctrine; but thought it superfluous and troublesome to publish their notes, minutes, and commonplaces, and, therefore, followed the example of builders, who remove the scaffolding and ladders when the building is finished. Nor can we indeed believe the case to have been otherwise. But to any one, not entirely forgetful of our previous observations, it will be easy to answer this objection, or rather scruple. For, we allow that the ancients had a particular form of investigation and discovery, and their writings show it. But it was of such a nature, that they immediately flew from a few instances and particulars, (after adding some common notions, and a few generally received opinions most in vogue,) to the most general conclu-

sions, or the principles of the sciences, and then by their intermediate propositions deduced their inferior conclusions, and tried them by the test of the immovable and settled truth of the first, and so constructed their art. Lastly, if some new particulars and instances were brought forward, which contradicted their dogmas, they either with great subtilty reduced them to one system, by distinctions or explanations of their own rules, or got rid of them clumsily as exceptions, labouring most pertinaciously in the mean time to accommodate the causes of such as were not contradictory to their own principles. Their natural history and their experience were both far from being what they ought to have been, and their flying off to generalities ruined every thing.

126. Another objection will be made against us, that we prohibit decisions, and the laying down of certain principles, till we arrive regularly at generalities by the intermediate steps, and thus keep the judgment in suspense and lead to uncertainty. But our object is not uncertainty, but fitting certainty, for we derogate not from the senses, but assist them, and despise not the understanding, but direct it. It is better to know what is necessary, and not to imagine we are fully in possession of it, than to imagine that we are fully in possession of it, and yet in reality to know nothing which we ought.

127. Again, some may raise this question rather than objection, whether we talk of perfecting natural philosophy alone according to our method, or the other sciences also, such as logic, ethics, politics. We certainly intend to comprehend them all. And as common logic, which regulates matter by syllogisms, is applied not only to natural, but also to every other science, so our inductive method likewise comprehends them all. For we form a history and tables of invention for anger, fear, shame, and the like, and also for examples in civil life, and the mental operations of memory, composition, division, judgment, and the rest, as well as for heat and cold, light, vegetation, and the like. But since our method of interpretation, after preparing and arranging a history, does not content itself with examining the operations and disquisitions of the mind, like common logic; but also inspects the nature of things, we so regulate the mind that it may be enabled to apply itself in every respect correctly to that nature. On that account we deliver numerous and various precepts in our doctrine of interpretation, so that they may apply in some measure to the method of discovering the quality and condition of the subject-matter of investigation.

128. Let none even doubt whether we are anxious to destroy and demolish the philosophy, arts, and sciences, which are now in use. On

the contrary, we readily cherish their practice, cultivation, and honour. For we by no means interfere to prevent the prevalent system from encouraging discussion, adorning discourses, or being employed serviceably in the chair of the professor or the practice of common life, and being taken, in short, by general consent, as current coin. Nay, we plainly declare, that the system we offer will not be very suitable for such purposes, not being easily adapted to vulgar apprehensions, except by effects and works. To show our sincerity in professing our regard and friendly disposition towards the received sciences, we can refer to the evidence of our published writings, (especially our books on the advancement of learning.) We will not, therefore, endeavour to evince it any further by words; but content ourselves with steadily and professedly promising, that no great progress can be made by the present methods, in the theory or contemplation of science, and that they cannot be made to produce any very abundant effects.

129. It remains for us to say a few words on the excellence of our proposed end. If we had done so before, we might have appeared merely to express our wishes, but now that we have excited hope and removed prejudices, it will perhaps have greater weight. Had we performed and completely accomplished the whole, without frequently calling in others to assist in our labours, we should then have refrained from saying any more, lest we should be thought to extol our own deserts. Since, however, the industry of others must be quickened, and their courage roused and inflamed, it is right to recall some points to their memory.

First, then, the introduction of great inventions appears one of the most distinguished of human actions; and the ancients so considered it. For they assigned divine honours to the authors of inventions, but only heroic honours to those who displayed civil merit, (such as the founders of cities and empires, legislators, the deliverers of their country from everlasting misfortunes, the quellers of tyrants, and the like.) And if any one rightly compare them, he will find the judgment of antiquity to be correct. For the benefits derived from inventions may extend to mankind in general, but civil benefits to particular spots alone; the latter, moreover, last but for a time, the former forever. Civil reformation seldom is carried on without violence and confusion, whilst inventions are a blessing and a benefit, without injuring or afflicting any

Inventions are, also, as it were, new creations and imitations of divine works; as was expressed by the poet:

"Primum frugiferos fœtus mortalibus ægris
Dididerant quondam præstanti nomine Athenæ
Et recreaverunt vitam legesque rogarunt."

And it is worthy of remark in Solomon, that whilst he flourished in the possession of his empire, in wealth, in the magnificence of his works, in his court, his household, his fleet, the splendour of his name, and the most unbounded admiration of mankind, he still placed his glory in none of these, but declared, "That it is the glory of God to conceal a thing, but the glory of a king to search it out."

Again, let any one but consider the immense difference between men's lives in the most polished countries of Europe, and in any wild and barbarous region of the New Indies, he will think it so great, that man may be said to be a god unto man, not only on account of mutual aid and benefits, but from their comparative states: the result of the arts, and not of the soil or climate.

Again, we should notice the force, effect, and consequences of inventions, which are nowhere more conspicuous than in those three which were unknown to the ancients; namely, printing, gun-powder, and the compass. For these three have changed the appearance and state of the whole world; first in literature, then in warfare, and lastly in navigation: and innumerable changes have been thence derived, so that no empire, sect, or star, appears to have exercised a greater power and influence on human affairs than these mechanical discoveries.

It will, perhaps, be as well to distinguish three species and degrees of ambition. First, that of men who are anxious to enlarge their own power in their country, which is a vulgar and degenerate kind; next, that of men who strive to enlarge the power and empire of their country over mankind, which is more dignified, but not less covetous; but if one were to endeavour to renew and enlarge the power and empire of mankind in general over the universe, such ambition (if it may be so termed) is both more sound and more noble than the other two. Now, the empire of man over things is founded on the arts and sciences alone, for nature is only to be commanded by obeying her.

Besides this, if the benefit of any particular invention has had such an effect as to induce men to consider him greater than a man, who has thus obliged the whole race; how much more exalted will that discovery be, which leads to the easy discovery of every thing else! Yet, (to speak the truth,) in the same manner as we are very thankful for light which enables us to enter on our way, to practise arts, to

read, to distinguish each other, and yet sight is more excellent and beautiful than the various uses of light; so is the contemplation of things as they are, free from superstition or imposture, error or confusion, much more dignified in itself than all the advantage to be derived from discoveries.

Lastly, let none be alarmed at the objection of the arts and sciences becoming depraved to malevolent or luxurious purposes and the like, for the same can be said of every worldly good; talent, courage, strength, beauty, riches, light itself, and the rest. Only let mankind regain their rights over nature, assigned to them by the gift of God, and obtain that power, whose exercise will be governed by right reason and true religion.

130. But it is time for us to lay down the art of interpreting nature; to which we attribute no absolute necessity (as if nothing could be done without it) nor perfection, although we think that our precepts are most useful and correct. For we are of opinion, that if men had at their command a proper history of nature and experience, and would apply themselves stearily to it, and could bind themselves to two things: 1. To lay aside received opinions and notions; 2. To restrain themselves, till the proper season, from generalization, they might, by the proper and genuine exertion of their minds, fall into our way of interpretation without the aid of any art. For interpretation is the true and natural act of the mind, when all obstacles are removed: certainly, however, every thing will be more ready and better fixed by our precepts.

Yet do we not affirm that no addition can be made to them; on the contrary, considering the mind in its connexion with things, and not merely relatively to its own powers, we ought to be persuaded that the art of invention can be made to grow with the inventions themselves.

GALILEO

GALILEO GALILEI was born at Pisa, February 18, 1564. His father saw no prospects in his own specialty, mathematics, and started Galileo in medicine. In 1583 while watching a great lamp swinging in the cathedral at Pisa, he noticed that no matter what the length of the oscillation the time was the same. Fifty years later, he applied this principle to the invention of a clock. About this time he became interested in mathematics and in spite of all dissuasion from his father took up its study instead of medicine.

In 1588 on account of a treatise on the center of gravity in solids he was appointed lecturer at the university of Pisa. In the next two years he was busy studying the subject of motion. He disproved the Aristotelian theory that bodies fall with speed proportioned to their weight by letting bodies fall from the tower of Pisa and showing that things naturally fall with the same speed. He studied the laws of motion, and proved by experiments on long inclined planes that falling bodies have a uniformly accelerated motion. From this he deduced the principle of inertia that bodies would go on moving in the same direction forever if not interfered with by some other force, and that the motion of a body is the result of the independent forces acting upon it. This doctrine of inertia was an answer to the objection of the anti-Copernicans that if the earth went round the sun a body thrown into the air would be left behind.

In 1592 he took the chair of mathematics at Padua, where he remained till 1610. About 1600 he made a crude thermometer. Hans Lippershey, an optician at Middleburg had in 1608 discovered the telescope and the rumor of it having been carried to Galileo, he made one

of his own, and improved it until he obtained a power of magnifying 32 times. With this he discovered the mountainous surface of the moon, the fact that the Milky Way is made up of many small stars, and finally in 1610 the moons of Jupiter. This was an example of the theory of Copernicus put in practise and was a strong argument for the system. He discovered also that Venus shows different sides, the same as the moon and used this as another argument that planets revolve round the sun.

In 1610 he moved to Florence. In 1613 he began to show openly his adherence to the Copernican system. After his being heard in regard to the theory, he was ordered (1616) by the consulting theologians not to hold, teach, or defend, the doctrine. Galileo returned understanding that the doctrine could be held only as an hypothesis. His friend Maffeo took the papal chair as Urban VIII in 1623, and Galileo began his dialogues on the system of the world. They were finished in 1630 but printed only after much trouble to get permission and on the promise of its not being heretical. The book at once became popular and had great influence, but it became apparent that it was a thinly veiled argument for the prohibited Copernican theory. The next year he was called before the Inquisition and compelled to recant.

In 1637 he discovered the librations of the moon, and a few months afterward became permanently blind. He died in 1642 on the 8th of January, the day Sir Isaac Newton was born.

TO KEPLER

"I count myself happy, in the search after truth, to have so great an ally as yourself, and one who is so great a friend of the truth itself. It is really pitiful that there are so few who seek truth, and who do not pursue a perverse method of philosophising. But this is not the place to mourn over the miseries of our times, but to congratulate you on your splendid discoveries in conformation of truth. I shall read your book to the end, sure of finding much that is excellent in it. I shall do so with the more pleasure, because *I have been for many years an adherent of the Copernican system,* and it explains to me the causes of many of the appearances of nature which are quite unintelligible on the commonly accepted hypothesis. *I have collected many arguments for the purpose of refuting the latter;* but I do not venture to bring them to the light of publicity, for fear of sharing the fate of our master, Copernicus, who, although he has earned immortal fame with some, yet with very many (so great is the number of fools) has become an object of ridicule and scorn. I should certainly venture to publish my speculations if there were more people like you. But this not being the case, I refrain from such an undertaking."

ON THE TELESCOPE

"You must know that about two months ago a report was spread here that in Flanders a spy-glass had been presented to Prince Maurice, so ingeniously constructed that it made the most distant objects appear quite near, so that a man could be seen quite plainly at a distance of two *miglia.* This result seemed to me so extraordinary that it set me thinking; and as it appeared to me that it depended upon the theory of perspective, I reflected on the manner of constructing it, in which I was at length so entirely successful that I made a spy-glass which far surpasses the report of the Flanders one. As the news had reached Venice that I had made such an instrument, six days ago I was summoned before their highnesses the signoria, and exhibited it to them, to the astonishment of the whole senate. Many noblemen and senators, although of a great age, mounted the steps of the highest church towers at Venice, in order to see sails and shipping that were so far

off that it was two hours before they were seen steering full sail into the harbor without my spy-glass, for the effect of my instrument is such that it makes an object fifty *miglia* off appear as large and near as if it were only five."

TO KEPLER

"You are the first and almost the only person who, even after but a cursory investigation, has, such is your openness of mind and lofty genius, given entire credit to my statements. . . . We will not trouble ourselves about the abuses of the multitude, for against Jupiter even giants, to say nothing of pigmies, fight in vain. Let Jupiter stand in the heavens, and let the sycophants bark at him as they will. . . . In Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Venice, and Padua many have seen the planets; but all are silent on the subject and undecided, for the greater number recognize neither Jupiter nor Mars and scarcely the moon as planets. At Venice one man spoke against me, boasting that he knew for certain that my satellites of Jupiter, which he had several times observed, were not planets because they were always to be seen with Jupiter, and either all or some of them now followed and now preceded him. What is to be done? Shall we decide with Democritus or Heraclitus? I think, my Kepler, we will laugh at the extraordinary stupidity of the multitude. What do you say to the leading philosophers of the faculty here, to whom I have offered a thousand times of my own accord to show my studies, but who with the lazy obstinacy of a serpent who has eaten his fill have never consented to look at planets, nor moon, nor telescope? Verily, just as serpents close their ears, so do these men close their eyes to the light of the truth. These are great matters; yet they do not occasion me any surprise. People of this sort think that philosophy is a kind of book like the Æneid or the Odyssey, and that the truth is to be sought, not in the universe, nor in nature, but (I use their own words) *by comparing texts*! How you would laugh if you heard the things the first philosopher of the faculty at Pisa brought against me in the presence of the Grand Duke, for he tried, now with logical arguments, now with magical adjurations, to tear down and to argue the new planets out of heaven."

DIALOGUES OF GALILEO

TO THE COURTEOUS READER

There has but lately been proclaimed at Rome a wholsome edict, which prohibited the pernicious doctrines of the present day and imposed a timely silence upon the Pythagorean view that the earth moves. There are voices that rashly declare that the decree owes its promulgation not to an intelligent demonstration, but to party feeling unsupported by sufficient knowledge. There are loud demands that councillors entirely unfamiliar with the bases of astronomical science should not by sudden prohibition prevent the advance of inquiring minds. My zeal forbids me to maintain silence in the face of such trivial complaints. Well content with that wise decision, I have decided to make my appearance at the forum of the world as a witness of candid truth. I myself was present then at Rome; I not only had the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries of that court for auditors but also received their applause. So the publication of that decree did not follow without first obtaining the benefit of my knowledge of the question. Therefore, it is my purpose in this present laborious work to demonstrate to foreign nations that as much is known in Italy and especially at Rome concerning this matter as has been acquired by the inquiries of other peoples. By comparing all separate investigations of the Copernican theory I will show that the Roman censor was already familiar with all of them, that this region is not only the home of doctrines that lead to salvation, but that ingenious discoveries to delight the mind also proceed from it.

To this end I have taken in the course of the discussions the side of Copernicus, during which I have proceeded from his system as a basis in purely mathematical manner as from an hypothesis, and have sought with the aid of every possible artifice to demonstrate that this system was superior to the theory of the immobility of the earth, even in the light of the opposing arguments brought forward by Peripatetics.

Three main principles will be discussed. First I will endeavor to prove that all investigations confined to the earth are insufficient means of proving its motion, that such rather are consistent indifferently either with the motion or the rest of the earth; by this means, I hope, many considerations unknown to the ancients will come into discussion. Secondly, the heavenly bodies will be called into evidence, which works out so favorably for the view of Copernicus as to make it appear that this

should triumph completely; to this will be added new inquiries, which are to be treated as auxiliaries to astronomy, but not as actually valid natural laws. Thirdly, I will mention an interesting phenomenon. Once some years ago I declared that some light might fall upon the obscure problem of ebb and flow of tides, as soon as the theory of the movement of the earth was discarded. This declaration of mine spread from mouth to mouth and found many a charitable foster father who accepted the poor orphan as the child of his own mind. Now, lest some stranger, fighting with our weapons, should at some future time confront us and blame us for the little consideration we had devoted to be so weighty a phenomenon I have thought it best to state the arguments which make it plausible on the theory that the earth moves. These investigations, it is hoped, will demonstrate to the world that, while other nations may extend their commerce to wider ranges, we yield nothing to them in scientific study; that, if we decide to pronounce for the immobility of the earth and to treat the opposing opinion as a mathematical whim, this does not result from ignorance of the ideas of others; that we do this rather on the grounds which piety, religion, the recognition of divine omniscience, and the knowledge of the insufficiency of human intellect have forced upon us.

I thought also that it would be a great advantage to develop this thought in the form of conversation because this would not be restricted to the narrow content of mathematical laws and would offer opportunity for digressions which would be not less interesting than the main contention.

Formerly I used frequently to visit the marvelous city of Venice and to meet there Signore Giovan Francesco Segredo, a man of most distinguished ancestry and remarkable intelligence. Thither also came from Florence Signore Filippo Salviati, whose least claim to renown was his noble blood and great wealth; a noble mind, that held no enjoyment of greater price than that of study and thought. With both of these men I often discussed these questions, in the presence of a Peripatetic philosopher, who apparently valued the acquisition of knowledge in no way in so high a degree, as he did the renown which his interpretations of Aristotle had gained for him.

Now that cruel death has robbed the cities of Venice and Florence of these two enlightened men, in the bloom of their years, I have endeavored, as far as my weak powers may permit, to perpetuate their fame in these pages, by making them the speakers in this dialogue. The valiant Peripatetic also shall not fail to appear; because of his over-

weaning love for the commentary of Simplicius, it seemed permissible to omit his own name and let him pass under that of his favorite author. May the souls of these two great men accept this public testimony of my undying love; may the recollection of their eloquence aid me in setting down for posterity the spoken discussions.

SECOND DAY

SALVATI: We departed yesterday so often and so far from the direct path of our discussion, that I can scarcely return to the right point and proceed without your help.

SAGREDO: I find it quite intelligible that you are somewhat at a loss, since you have had your head so full of both the things already brought forward and things still to be discussed. I, however, who as merely a listener have in mind only the things already discussed, may I hope set our investigation straight by a brief summary of what has been gone over. So, if my memory fails not, the the chief result of our yesterday's conversation was that we tested thoroughly which of the two theories was the more probable and better grounded; that according to which the substance of the heavenly bodies is unproducible, indestructible, unchangeable, intangible, in brief not subject to any variation aside from change of location, and so presents a fifth element which is entirely distinct from our elementary, producible, destructible, changeable bodies; or the other view, according to which an incongruity between parts of the universe is rejected, our earth rather enjoys the same priviliges as the rest of the constituent bodies of the universe, in a word is a freely moving ball just as the moon, Jupiter, Venus, or any other planet. Finally we noticed the many similarities in particular between the earth and the moon, and of course with the moon more than any other planet because of the closer and more definite knowledge which we possess of it by reason of its less distance. Since we agreed that this second opinion possessed the greater probability, the logical conequence, it seems to me, is that we should investigate the question whether we should hold the world immovable, as has been formerly believed in general, or movable as some ancient philosophers believed and as some recent ones suppose: and if movable, how its movement could have been produced.

SALV.: Let us begin our discussion with the admission that whatever sort of motion may be ascribed the earth, we, as its inhabitants and therefore partakers in the movement, would be unconscious of it, as if it did not occur, since we can only take into consideration earthly

things. Therefore it is necessary that this movement should seem to belong to all the other bodies and visible objects in common which, separated from the earth, have no share in its movement. The correct method of determining whether movement is to be attributed to the earth, and what movement, is that one should inquire and observe whether an apparent movement can be ascribed to the bodies outside of the earth, which belongs to all of them in the same degree. So a movement which, for example, can be supposed of the moon, and not of Venus or Jupiter or other stars, cannot be peculiar to the earth. Now there is such a general movement governing all other objects, namely that which the sun, moon, planets, fixed stars, in a word the whole universe with the single exception of the earth, seems to follow from east to west within the space of twenty-four hours. This, at least at first glance, may be just as well attributed to the earth alone, as to the rest of the entire universe except the earth.

SAGR.: I understand clearly that your suggestion is correct. An objection, however, forces itself upon me that I cannot solve. That is, since Copernicus ascribes to the earth a further movement aside from the daily one, according to the above mentioned principle this should be apparently un-noticeable on the earth, but should be visible in the rest of the universe. I come then to the conclusion that either he plainly erred when he ascribed to the earth a movement to which no counterpart is apparent in the firmament, or else such a movement exists, and then Ptolemaus is guilty of a second error in that he did not refute with arguments this movement as well as that daily rotation.

SALV.: Your objection is very just. If we take up this other movement, you shall see how much superior in intelligence was Copernicus to Ptolemaus, in that he saw what this one did not, namely how wonderfully this second motion is reflected in the rest of the heavenly bodies. For the present, however, we will leave this aside and return to our first consideration. Proceeding from the most general suppositions, I will present the arguments which seem to favor the motion of the earth, in order then to hear the opposing arguments of Signore Simplico. First, then, when we consider the immense circumference of the stellar sphere in comparison with the smallness of the earth, which is contained in that several million times, and therefore regard the velocity of motion which would be necessary for an entire revolution in the course of a day and night, I am unable to understand how any one could hold it more reasonable and credible that it is this whole stellar sphere that moves and that the earth remains still.

SAGR.: Even if universal phenomena which depend upon these movements could be explained as readily by the one hypothesis as by the other, yet by the first general impression I would regard as more unreasonable the view that the whole universe moves; just as if any one should climb to the top of your dome for the purpose of getting a view of the city and its environs and then should demand that the whole region be made to move around him to save him the trouble of turning his head. In any event, there would have to be great advantages connected with this theory, which were lacking in the other, in order that such an absurdity should be balanced and outweighed and should appear more credible than the opposite opinion. But Aristotle, Ptolemaus and Signore Simplico must find such advantages in their theory, and I should be glad if we might hear these advantages if they exist, or if they do not, that some one would explain to me why they do not and cannot exist.

SALV.: If, in spite of every sort of investigation, I am able to find no such differences, I believe I have thereby discovered that such difference does not exist. So in my opinion it is useless to pursue this further: rather let us proceed. Motion is only so far motion and acts as such, if it stands in relation to things which lack motion. In relation to things that are all in the same degree affected by it, it is as much without effect as if it did not take place. The wares with which a ship is loaded move, when they depart from Venice and arrive at Aleppo, passing Korfu, Candia, Cyprus, etc.; since Venice, Korfu and Candia remain fixed and do not move with the ship. But in respect to the bales, chests and other pieces of baggage which are on the ship as cargo or ballast, the movement of the ship itself from Venice to Syria is as good as non-existent, since their position in relation to one another does not change; and this is due to the fact that the movement is a common one in which they all take part. If of the wares on the ship one bale moves only an inch away from the chest, this is for it a greater movement in relation to the chest, than the whole journey of 2,000 miles which they undergo in common.

Therefore, since plainly the motion which many movable bodies undergo in common is without effect and, with regard to their mutual position toward one another, it is as if it did not exist, for there is no change among them; and since it only affects the relative position of such bodies as do not share in the movement, for in this case the mutual relation is changed; since further we have divided the universe into two parts, of which one must be movable and the other immovable;

then for all purposes this movement will be of the same effect whether it is ascribed to the earth alone or to all the rest of the universe. For the working of such a motion is on nothing but the relative position in which the earth and the heavenly bodies stand to one another, and aside from this relative position nothing changes. If now it is indifferent for accomplishing this result whether the earth alone moves and the whole universe rests, or the earth rests and the whole universe is subject to one common movement, who can believe that Nature—who by common agreement does not employ great means when she can obtain the same result by smaller ones—would have undertaken to set in motion an immeasurable number of mighty bodies, and that with incredible velocity, to accomplish what could be obtained by the moderate motion of one single body around the center?

SIMPL.: I do not agree that that mighty movement would be as if it did not happen in regard to the Sun, the moon, the innumerable host of fixed stars. Do you call it nothing that the Sun goes from one meridian to another, rises from one horizon, sinks under another, brings now day, now night; that the moon goes through similar changes and likewise the other planets, as well as the fixed stars?

SALV.: All the changes mentioned by you are such only with respect to the earth. To demonstrate this, only imagine yourself away from the earth; there is then no rising or setting of the Sun, no horizons, no meridians, no day, no night; in a word, by the movement mentioned no change in the relation of the moon to the sun or to any other star is evoked. All these changes have reference to the earth; they are supposed only because the Sun is first visible in China, then Egypt, Greece, France, Spain, America, and so on, and so also for the moon and the other heavenly bodies. The same process would occur in the same way, if, without disturbing so vast a part of the universe, the earth alone should be revolved.

The difficulty is however doubled since a second very important one is added. That is, if one attributes to the firmament this mighty motion, one must regard it as necessarily opposed to the particular movements of all the planets, all of which indisputably have their own movements from the west to east, and in comparison very moderate movements at that. One is then forced to the conclusion that they depart from that rapid daily motion, namely from east to west, to go in the opposite direction. But, if we suppose that the earth moves, the opposition of motions disappears and the single movement from west to east fits in with all the facts and explains them most satisfactorily.

SIMPL.: As far as this opposition of motions is concerned that has little importance, since Aristotle proves that the circular motions are not opposed to one another and that the apparent opposition cannot actually be called so.

SALV.: Does Aristotle prove that or merely suppose it, because it aids him for a certain purpose? If, according to his own declaration, those things are opposed which mutually destroy one another I do not see how two moving bodies which meet one another in a circular motion should do one another less harm than if they meet on a straight line.

SAGR.: Wait a moment, I pray. Tell me, Signore Simplicio, if two Knights run into one another with leveled lances on the open field, if two squadrons or two streams on their way to the sea, break through and unite with one another, would you call such collisions opposed movements?

SIMPL.: Of course we would call them opposed.

SAGR.: How then is there no opposition in circular motions. For the movements mentioned take place upon the surface of the earth or water, both of which are recognized to be circular in form and so the motions must be circular. Do you understand, Signore Simplicio, what circular motions are not opposed to one another? Two circles which touch each other on the outside and of which the revolution of one is in a reverse direction from that of the other. If, however, one circle is within the other, then motions in different directions must be opposed to one another.

SALV.: Whether opposed or not opposed is merely a strife of words. I know that in fact it is simpler and more natural to accomplish everything with one motion than to call in two. If you do not wish to call them opposite, then call them reverse. Moreover. I mention this introduction of a double movement not as something impossible, and in no way propose to deduce from it a strong proof for the motion of the earth, but merely a high degree of probability for it.

The improbability of the movement of the universe about the earth is tripled, however, by the complete upsetting of that arrangement which governs all the heavenly bodies whose circular motion is accepted not doubtfully but with full assurance. That is, that in such cases the larger the orbit the longer the time required for its completion, and the smaller, the shorter. Saturn, whose course surpasses all the planets in extent, completes it in thirty years. Jupiter revolves in a smaller circle in twelve years. Mars in two, the moon in a month. We see clearly

in the case of the Medicean stars [the moons of Jupiter] that the one nearest Jupiter goes through its orbit in a very short time, namely, forty-two hours, the next nearest in three and a half days, the third in seven days, and the farthest removed in sixteen days. This thoroughly constant rule remains unchanged if we ascribe the twenty-four hour movement to the revolution of the earth, but if we suppose the earth to remain unmoved, we must proceed from the short period to the moon to increasingly greater periods, to the two year period of Mars, the twelve year period of Jupiter, the thirty year period of Saturn, and then abruptly to a disproportionately larger orbit, to which must also be ascribed the revolution in twenty-four hours. And these suppositions entail the smallest part of the disturbance of the otherwise constant law. For when one passes from the orbit of Saturn to those of the fixed stars and attributes to them even greater orbits, which correspond to the period of revolution of many thousands of years, one must pass from this by a much more disproportionate transition to that other movement and ascribe to them a period of revolution about the earth of twenty-four hours. But if the movement of the earth is supposed, the regularity of the period is accounted for in the best possible way; from the slow period of Saturn we arrive at the immovable fixed star.

A fourth difficulty also is encountered which must be added if we suppose the motion of the smaller sphere. I mean the great dissimilarity in movements of these stars, some of which must revolve at a tremendous rate in immense circles, others slowly in smaller circles, according as they are placed at greater or smaller distances from the pole. And not only the size of the different circles and so the velocity of movement varies greatly in different fixed stars, but also the same stars change their courses and their velocity; herein is the fifth difficulty. That is, those stars which 2,000 years ago stood on the equator of the stellar sphere and thereafter moved in the greatest circles, must now, since to-day they have moved several degrees from it, move more slowly and in smaller circles. Within a conceivable time it will happen that one of those which have been continually moving will eventually reach the pole and cease to revolve, then later, after a period of rest, begin to move again. The other stars, however, which undoubtedly move, all have, as has been said, as orbit an immense circle and move in it without change.

The improbability is increased (and this may be called a sixth difficulty) for him who investigates basic principles, by the fact that one cannot imagine the firmness which that immense sphere must pos-

sess, in whose depths so many stars are so solidly fixed that in spite of such varieties of motions they are held together in the revolution without in any way changing their relative positions. But if according to the most probable view the heavens are fluid, so that each star may describe its own orbit, by what law and according to what principles are their orbits governed, so that seen from the earth they appear as if held in one sphere? To accomplish this it seems to me it would be easier and more convenient to make them stationary instead of movable, just as the paving stones in the market place are kept in order more easily than the troops of children who race over them.

Finally the seventh objection; if we ascribe the daily revolution to the highest heavens we must suppose this to be of such power and force that it bears along the innumerable crowd of fixed stars, everyone a body of immense mass and much larger than the earth, further, all the planets, although these by their nature move in an opposite direction. Moreover, we must suppose that the element of fire and the greater portion of the air is also born along; therefore, singly and alone the little earth ball withstands stubbornly and independently this mighty force: a supposition that seems to me to have much against it. I cannot explain how the earth, a body freely suspended and balanced on its axis, inclined by nature as much toward motion as the rest, surrounded by a fluid medium, is not seized on by this general revolution. We do not encounter this difficulty, however, if we suppose the earth to move, a body so small, so inconsiderable in comparison with the whole universe that it could have no effect at all upon this.

CONDEMNATION.

We, Gasparo del titolo di S. Croce in Gierusalemme Gorgia;
Fra Felice Centino del titolo di S. Anastasia, detto d'Ascoli;
Guido del titolo di S. Maria del Popolo Bentivoglio;
Fra Desiderio Scaglia del titolo di S. Carlo detto di Cremona;
Fra Antonio Barberino detto di S. Onofrio;
Laudivo Zacchia del titolo di S. Pietro in Vincola detto di S. Sisto;
Berlingero del titolo di S. Agostino, Gessi;
Fabricio del titolo di S. Lorezo in pane e perna, Verospi, chiamato Prete;
Fracesco di S. Lorenzo in Damaso Barberino, e
Martio di S. Maria Nuova Ginetti Diaconi;

by the grace of God, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, Inquisitors General, by the Holy Apostolic see specially deputed, against heretical depravity throughout the whole Christian Republic.

Whereas you, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei, Florentine, aged seventy years, were in the year 1615 denounced, to this Holy Office for holding as true the false doctrine taught by many, that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth moves, and also with a diurnal motion; for having disciples to whom you taught the same doctrine; for holding correspondence with certain mathematicians of Germany concerning the same; for having printed certain letters, entitled "On the Solar Spots," wherein you developed the same doctrine as true; and for replying to the objections from the Holy Scriptures, which from time to time were urged against it, by glossing the said Scriptures according to your own meaning: and whereas there was thereupon produced the copy of a document in the form of a letter, purporting to be written by you to one formerly your disciple, and in this divers propositions are set forth, following the hypothesis of Copernicus, which are contrary to the true sense and authority of the Holy Scripture:

This Holy Tribunal being therefore desirous of proceeding against the disorder and mischief thence resulting, which went on increasing to the prejudice of the Holy Faith, by command of his Holiness and of the most eminent Lords Cardinals of this Supreme and universal Inquisition, the two propositions of the stability of the sun and the motion of the earth were by the theological "Qualifiers" qualified as follows:

The proposition that the sun is the centre of the world and does not move from its place is absurd and false philosophically and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

Therefore by our order you were cited before the Holy Office, where, being examined upon your oath, you acknowledged the book to be written and published by you. You confessed that you began to write the said book about ten or twelve years ago, after the command had been imposed upon you as above; that you questioned license to print it, without however intimating to those who granted you this license that you had been commanded not to hold, defend, or teach in any way whatever the doctrine in question.

You likewise confessed that the writing of the said book in its various places drawn up in such a form that the reader might fancy that arguments brought forward on the false side are rather calcu-

lated by their cogency to compel conviction than to be easy of refutation; excusing yourself for having fallen into an error, as you alleged, so foreign to your intention, by the fact that you had written in dialogue, and by the natural complacency that every man feels in regard to his own subtleties, and in showing him more clever than the generality of men, in devising, even on behalf of false propositions, ingenious and plausible arguments.

And a suitable term having been assigned to you to prepare your defence, you produced a certificate in the handwriting of his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, procured by you, as you asserted, in order to defend yourself against the calumnies of your enemies, who gave out that you had abjured and had been punished by the Holy Office; in which certificate it is declared that you had not abjured and had not been punished, but merely that the declaration made by his Holiness and published by the Holy Congregation of the Index, had been announced to you, wherein it is declared that the doctrine of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore cannot be defended or held. And as in this certificate there is no mention of the two articles of the injunction, namely, the order not "to teach" and "in any way," you represented that we ought to believe that in the course of fourteen or sixteen years you had lost all memory of them; and that this was why you said nothing of the injunction when you requested permission to print your book. And all this you urged not by way of excuse for your error, but that it might be set down to a vainglorious ambition rather than to malice. But this certificate produced by you in your defence has only aggravated your delinquency, since although it is there stated that the said opinion is contrary to Holy Scripture, you have nevertheless dared to discuss and to defend it and to argue its probability; nor does the license artfully and cunningly extorted by you avail you anything, since you did not notify the command imposed upon you.

And whereas it appeared to us that you had not stated the full truth with regard to your intention, we thought it necessary to subject you to a rigorous examination, at which (without prejudice, however, to the matters confessed by you, and set forth as above, with regard to your said intention) you answered like a good Catholic. Therefore, having seen and maturely considered the merits of this your cause, together with your confessions and excuses above mentioned, and all that ought justly to be seen and considered, we have arrived at the underwritten final sentence against you:—

Invoking, therefore, the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ and of His most glorious Mother and ever Virgin Mary, by this our final sentence, which sitting in judgment, with the counsel and advice of the Reverend Masters of sacred theology and Doctors of both Laws, our assessors, we deliver in these writings, in the cause and causes presently before us between the magnificent Carlo Sinceri, Doctor of both Laws, Proctor Fiscal of this Holy Office, of the one part, and you Galileo Galilei, the defendant, here present, tried and confessed as above, of the other part,—we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, that you, the said Galileo, by reason of the matters adduced in process, and by you confessed as above, have rendered yourself in the judgment of this Holy Office vehemently suspected of heresy, namely, of having believed and held the doctrine—which is false and contrary to the sacred and divine Scriptures—that the sun is the centre of the world and does not move from east to west, and that the earth moves and is not the centre of the world; and that the opinion may be held and defended as probable after it has been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scripture; and that consequently you have incurred all the censures and penalties imposed and promulgated in the sacred canons and other constitutions, general and particular, against such delinquents. From which we are content that you be absolved, provided that first, with a sincere heart, and unfeigned faith, you abjure, curse, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church in the form to be prescribed by us.

And in order that this your grave and pernicious error and transgression may not remain altogether unpunished, and that you may be more cautious for the future, and as an example to others, that they may abstain from similar delinquencies—we ordain that the book of the *"Dialogues of Galileo Galilei"* be prohibited by public edict.

We condemn you to the formal prison of the Holy Office during our pleasure, and by way of salutary penance, we enjoin that for three years to come you repeat once a week the seven penitential Psalms.

Reserving to ourselves full liberty to moderate, commute, or take off, in whole or in part, the aforesaid penalties and penance.

And as we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, ordain, condemn and reserve, in this and any other better way and form which we can and may lawfully employ.

So we the undersigned Cardinals pronounce.

F. Cardinalis de Asculo.
G. Cardinalis Bentiuolus.
Fr. Cardinalis de Cremona.
Fr. Antonius Cardinalis S. Honuphriji.
B. Cardinalis Gypsius.
Fr. Cardinalis Verospius.
M. Cardinalis Ginettus.

RECANTATION.

"I, Galileo Galei, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei, Florentine, aged 70 years, arraigned personally before this tribunal, and kneeling before you, most Eminent and Reverend Lord Cardinals, Inquisitors general against heretical depravity throughout the whole Christian Republic, having before my eyes and touching with my hands, the holy Gospels—swear that I have always believed, do now believe, and by God's help will for the future believe, all that is held, preached, and taught by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church. But whereas—after an injunction had been judiciously intimated to me by this Holy Office, to the effect that I must altogether abandon the false opinion that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre of the world, and moves, and that I must not hold, defend, or teach in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing, the said doctrine, and after it had been notified to me that the said doctrine was contrary to the Holy Scripture—I wrote and printed a book in which I discuss this doctrine already condemned, and adduced arguments of great cogency in its favor, without presenting any solution of these; and for this cause I have been pronounced by the Holy Office to be vehemently suspected of heresy, that is to say, of having held and believed that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre and moves:—

Therefore, desiring to remove from the minds of your Eminences, and of all faithful Christians, this strong suspicion, reasonably conceived against me, with sincere heart and unfeigned faith I abjure, curse, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and generally every other error and sect whatsoever contrary to the said Holy Church; and I swear that in future I will never again say or assert, verbally or in writing, anything that might furnish occasion for a similar suspicion regarding me; but that should I know any heretic, or person suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to the Holy Office, or the Inquisitor

promise to fulfil and observe in their integrity all penances that have been, or that shall be, imposed upon me by this Holy Office. And, in the event of my contravening, (which God forbid!) any of these my promises, protestations, and oaths, I submit myself to the pains and penalties imposed and promulgated in the sacred canons and other constitutions, general and particular, against such delinquents. So help me God, and His holy Gospels, which I touch with my hands.

I, the said Galileo Galilei, have abjured, sworn, promised, and bound myself as above; and in witness of the truth thereof I have with my own hand subscribed the present document of my abjuration, and recited it word for word at Rome, in the Convent of Minerva, this twenty-second day of June, 1633.

I, Galileo Galilei, have abjured as above with my own hand."

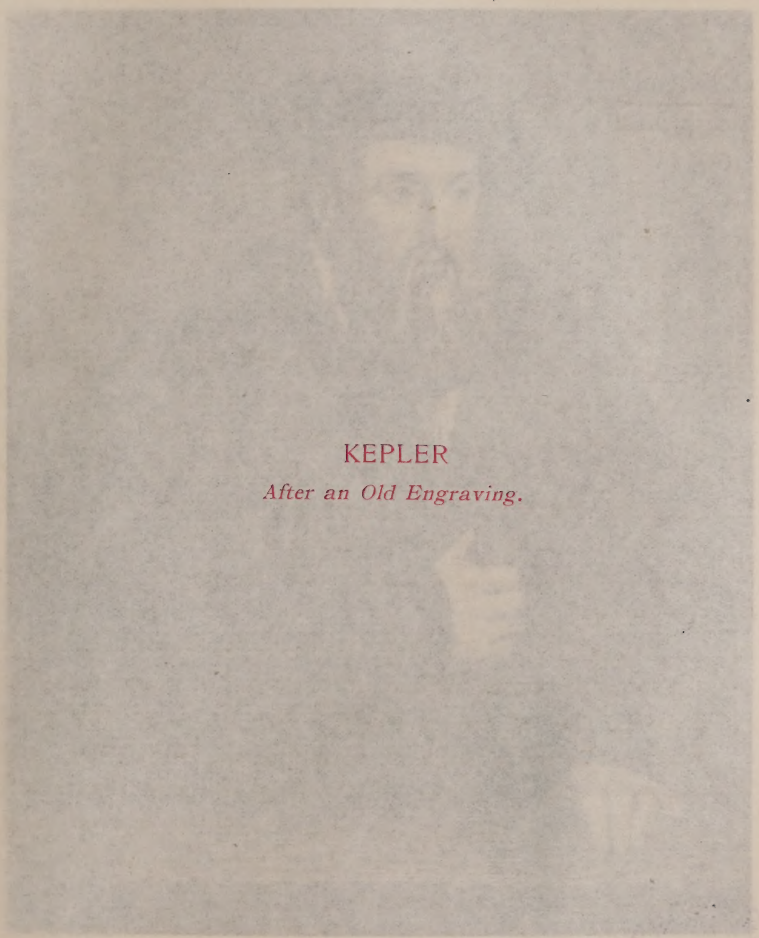
KEPLER

THE WORK of Kepler rests on the observations made by Tycho Brahe throughout many years. Tycho Brahe was a Danish nobleman born in 1546. He studied law at the University of Copenhagen in his youth and was first attracted to Astronomy by the occurrence of a predicted eclipse. He began to make astronomical instruments, then to take observations at Augsburg and Wittenberg. In the meantime he married a peasant girl, and became interested also in alchemy and astrology.

In 1576 he established the first observatory at Huen, where he remained for twenty years. After being banished from Germany and impoverished he was invited by the Emperor Rudolph to Prague. Here he began the work of compiling the Rudolphine Tables. These embodied a great series of observations upon the various apparent locations of the planets. He soon afterward invited Kepler, a young astronomer, to be his assistant. Tycho Brache died in 1601, but Kepler went on with his work.

John Kepler was born in 1571 in Würtemberg. His father lost his money through indorsing paper for a friend, and John was taken from school for three years and kept at work in his father's tavern until twelve years old. Then he was sent to a monastic school and finally to the University of Tübingen. He was very sickly, but a good student, and ranked second in his class. He became interested in the Copernican system and in 1599 was invited by Tycho Brahe to be his assistant.

Tycho Brahe had assigned him the study of the planet Mars, and Kepler followed up this work after Tycho's death.



KEPLER

After an Old Engraving.

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Tycho's tables were very accurate and Kepler used them to try to discover some regular motion of the planet that would account for its apparent positions.

Copernicus had thought the planets revolve in circles tracing also epicycles in so doing. Kepler tried this theory by his tables and found it would not account for the positions of the planet Mars. He tried hypothesis after hypothesis, but each time after the most arduous calculations he proved the theory wrong. His problem was to choose such an orbit for both Mars and the earth that a line run from the earth through Mars into the heavens would always follow the apparent positions of Mars. The difficulty of the problem, with his facilities, may be imagined. Sometimes he came as close as an eighth of a degree to getting the theory to fit in with the observations, but he had faith in the tables and refused to be satisfied. He tried various circles with epicycles, also tilting the planes of the orbits. Then putting the sun away from the center of the circle, he thought of varying the rate of speed, keeping the areas marked off equal in equal times. This helped, but not enough. He thought of ovals, and worked out the problem for several, but became almost discouraged by the enormous and practically impossible calculations involved. He had been working six years and no solution was in sight. He tried a circle with Mars oscillating to the extent of the diameter of an epicycle, and at last found that he could represent the movements of the planet in that way. He looked at it again and saw that the curve described is an elipse with the sun in one focus. He feverishly made a test of his idea that the areas swept out by the planet in equal times are equal and was overjoyed to find it correct. In his delight he drew a figure of victory on his diagram. The orbit of Mars was found.

In 1611 his patron Rudolph was forced to abdicate and Kepler was left penniless. His wife died and one of his three children, Kepler moved to Linz and accepted a professorship there.

His mother had been a virago and his father had abandoned her. Now she was accused of witchcraft and Kepler had to hurry to Würtemberg to save her.

He was interested in the idea of the "music of the spheres," and actually wrote out the notes they sang. Then he began to brood over the relation of the distances of the planets from the sun and their times of revolution.

He did not know the actual distances of the planets from the sun but all he needed was the relative distances, and the lengths of their

years (also known). After a great many experiments he finally thought of comparing the cubes of their relative distances with the squares of the times, and to his intense joy saw that they agreed—the squares of the times of revolution of the planets are proportional to the cubes of their distances. This third law was found in 1618. His delight is shown by the following letter:

"What I prophesied twenty-two years ago, as soon as I found the heavenly orbits were of the same number as the five (regular) solids, what I fully believed long before I had seen Ptolemy's Harmonies, what I promised my friends in the name of this book, which I christened before I was sixteen years ago, I urged as an end to be sought, that for which I joined Tycho Brache, for which I settled at Prague, for which I have spent most of my life at astronomical calculations—at last I have brought to light, and seen to be true beyond my fondest hopes. It is not eighteen months since I saw the first ray of light, three months since the unclouded sun-glorious sight! burst upon me. Let nothing confine me: I will indulge my sacred ecstacy. I will triumph over mankind by the honest confession that I have stolen the golden vases of the Egyptians to raise a tabernacle for my God far away from the lands of Egypt. If you forgive me I rejoice; if you are angry, I cannot help it. The book is written; the die is cast. Let it be read now or by posterity, I care not which. It may well wait a century for a reader, as God has waited six thousand years for an observer."

He died in 1630, but his work is deathless. He had seen and proved the solar system, and that there is unity in the universe.

Probably the most characteristic passage in his writings in regard to his discoveries is that just given. We give below the beginning of his Epitome of Astronomy, a book that had an enormous influence in spreading the new ideas of the science.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF ASTRONOMY

WHAT *is astronomy?* It is the science of treating of the causes of those celestial appearances which we who live on the earth observe and which mark the changes of times and seasons; by the studying of which we are able to predict for the future the face of the heavens, that is, the stellar phenomena, and to assign fixed dates for those which have occurred in the past.

Why is it called astronomy? From the law (nomos) or governance of the stars (astra), that is, of the motions in which the stars move, just as economy is named from the law of domestic affairs (oiconomia) and paedonomy (paidonomia) from the ruling of youths.

What is the relation of this science to the other sciences? 1) It is a branch of physics because it investigates the causes of natural objects and events, and because among its subjects are the motions of the heavenly bodies, and because it has the same end as physics, to inquire into the conformation of the world and its parts.

2) Astronomy is the soul of geography and hydrography, for the various appearances of the sky in various districts and regions of the earth and sea are known only by astronomy.

3) Chronology is dependent upon it, because the movements of the heavenly bodies prescribe seasons and years and date the histories.

4) Meteorology is also its subordinate, for the stars move and influence this sublunary nature and even men themselves.

5) It includes a large part of optics, because it has a subject in common with that; that is, the light of the heavenly bodies, and because it corrects many errors of sight in regard to the character of the earth and its motions.

6) It is, however, subordinate to the general subject of mathematics and uses arithmetic and geometry as its two wings, studying the extent and form of the bodies and motions of the universe and computing the periods, by these means expediting its demonstrations and reducing them to use and practical value.

How many, then, are the branches of astronomical study? The departments of the study of astronomy are five; historical, in the matter

of observations, optical as to the hypothesis, physical as to the causes of the hypotheses, arithmetical as to the tables and calculations, mechanical as to its instruments.

Since we must begin with appearances, explain how the world seems to be made up. The world is commonly thought, accepting the testimony of the eyes, to be an immense structure consisting of two parts, the earth and the sky.

What do men imagine concerning the figure of the earth? The earth seems to be a broad plane extending in a circle in every direction around the spectator. And from this appearance of a plane bounded by a great circle the appellation, orbis terrarum, the circle of the earth, has arisen, and has been taken over by the Scripture and among other nations.

What do men imagine to be the center of the earth? Each nation, unless it has become familiar with the notion of the circle, thinks by the instinct of nature and the error of vision that its country is in the center or middle of this plane circle. So the common people among the Jews believe still that Jerusalem, the earliest home of their race, is situated at the center of the world.

What do men think about the waters? Since men proceeding as far as possible in any direction finally came upon the ocean, some have thought that the earth is like a disc swimming in the waters, and that the waters are held up by the lower part of the sky, whence poets have called the ocean, the father of all things. Others believe that a strip of land surrounds the ocean which keeps the water from flowing away, and these suppose there is land under the water, saying that the water is held up by the earth. Besides these there are still others who, since the ocean seems higher than the land if it is looked at from the edge of the shore, believe that the earth is, as it were, sunk in the waters and supernaturally guarded by the omnipotence of God lest the waters rushing in from the deep should overwhelm it.

What do men imagine to be under both the land and the waters? There has been great discussion among men marveling concerning the foundation which could bear up the great mass of the earth so that it should remain for so many centuries firm and immovable and should not sink; and Heraclitus among the early philosophers, and Lactantius among the ecclesiastics said that it reached down to the lowest root of things.

How about the other part of the world, the sky and its extent? Men have thought that the sky was not much larger than the earth, and indeed was connected with the earth and the ocean at the circumference of the circle, so that it bounded the earth; and that anyone going that far, if it could be done, would run up against the sky, blocking further progress. With this idea of men the Scriptures also agreed.

So also the poets said that Mt. Atlas, a lofty mountain on the farthest short of Africa, bore up the sky on his shoulders, and Homer placed the Aethiopeans at the extremities of the rising and setting sun, thinking that because of the contiguity of the earth and sky there, the sun was so close to them that it burned their skin.

What form do they ascribe to the sky? The eyes ascribe to the sky the shape of a tent, extending over our heads and beyond the sun, moon and stars, or rather the shape of an arch overspanning the terrestrial plane, with a long curve, so that the part of the sky just over the head of the spectator is much nearer to him than the part that touches the mountains.

What have men conceived in regard to the motion of the sky? Whether the sky moves or stands still is not apparent to the sight because the tenuity of its substance escapes the eyes, unless indeed those things appear to stand still in which the eye can perceive no variation. But the changing positions of the sun, moon and stars in relation to the ends of the earth was apparent to the eyes. For the sun seems to emerge from an opening between the sky and the immovable mountains and ocean, as if coming out of a chamber, and having traversed the vault of the sky seems to sink again in the opposite region; so also the moon, and the planets, and the whole host of stars proceed as if strictly marshalled and drawn up in line, first one and then the other marching along, each in his order and place.

And so, since the ocean lies beyond the extreme lands, the mass of men have thought that the sun plunges into the ocean and is extinguished, and from the opposite region a new sun issues forth daily from the ocean. The poets have used this figure in their creations. But, indeed, there have been even philosophers who have declared that on the farthest shores of Lusitania could be heard the roar of the ocean extinguishing the flames of the sun, as Strabo recounts.

I understand the forms of the sky and the earth and the atmosphere surrounding the earth, also the place of the earth in the universe; now

I would ask what causes the stars to seem to rise daily from one part of the horizon and to sink in the opposite part; the motion of the sky or of the earth? The astronomy of Copernicus shows that our sight has led us astray in regard to this motion; for the stars do not actually come up from beyond the mountains and climb toward the zenith, but rather the mountains which surround us and which are a part of the surface of the earth are revolved along with the whole globe about its axis from west to east and by this revolution the immovable stars of the east are disclosed to us one after the other, and those of the west are obscured, so the stars are not passing over us, but the vertical point is moving through the fixed stars.

You say that by this marvelous hypothesis may be explained satisfactorily all the phenomena of the first motion and the spherical theory. Just so, and that is the scope of this section, to demonstrate in fact what has been suggested in words.

How do you expect to be able to prove this absurd hypothesis, and by what arguments? It is possible to demonstrate that this first motion results from the revolution of the earth about its axis, while the heavenly bodies are at rest (as far as this first motion is concerned), by seven kinds of arguments: 1) from the subject of the motion; 2) from the velocity of the motion; 3) from the equableness of the motion; 4) from the cause of the motion, or the moving principle; 5) from the motive instruments, that is, the axis and the poles; 6) from the object of the first motion; and 7) from the indications or results.

Demonstrate it then from the subject of the motion. Nature does not seek difficult means when she can use simple ones. Now, by the rotation of the earth, a very small body, about its axis, toward the east, the same thing is accomplished as by the rotation of the immense universe about its axis toward the west. Just as it is more likely that a man's head turns in the auditorium than that the auditorium is turned about his head, so it is more credible that the earth is rotating from west to east, than that the rest of the machine of the universe is revolved from east to west, since in both cases the same thing results.

If the first motion is in the heavenly bodies, then they are subject to two motions, one common to the whole universe, the other particular to each sphere; but it is much more probable that the two motions should be distinct in regard to their subjects, so that the second set of motions, which is multifold, should belong to each sphere, and the first, which is single, should belong to the single body of the earth, and to it alone.

Why cannot the whole machinery of the universe be moved? The universe is either infinite or finite. Suppose it to be the former, according to the opinion of William Gilbert, who thinks that the omnipotence of God is illustrated in this that the universe extends outward infinitely, so that the infinite power of the creator would be recognized from the infinite extent of the creation. Although this may be refuted by metaphysical arguments, no argument on either side can be drawn from astronomy, in which trust is placed rather in the evidence of the senses than in abstract reasonings not dependent on observation. But supposing this universe to be infinite, Aristotle has shown that the whole universe should not be moved about in a revolution since it is the whole.

But let the universe be finite; then there is nothing outside the universe which would locate the universe but should remain quiet itself. Where there is nothing that rests there is no motion. For 1) motion is the separation of a movable thing from its place and its transfer to another place: 2) the motion of a machine about an axis and quiescent poles cannot be grasped by the mind where there is no thing in respect to which the poles remain still.

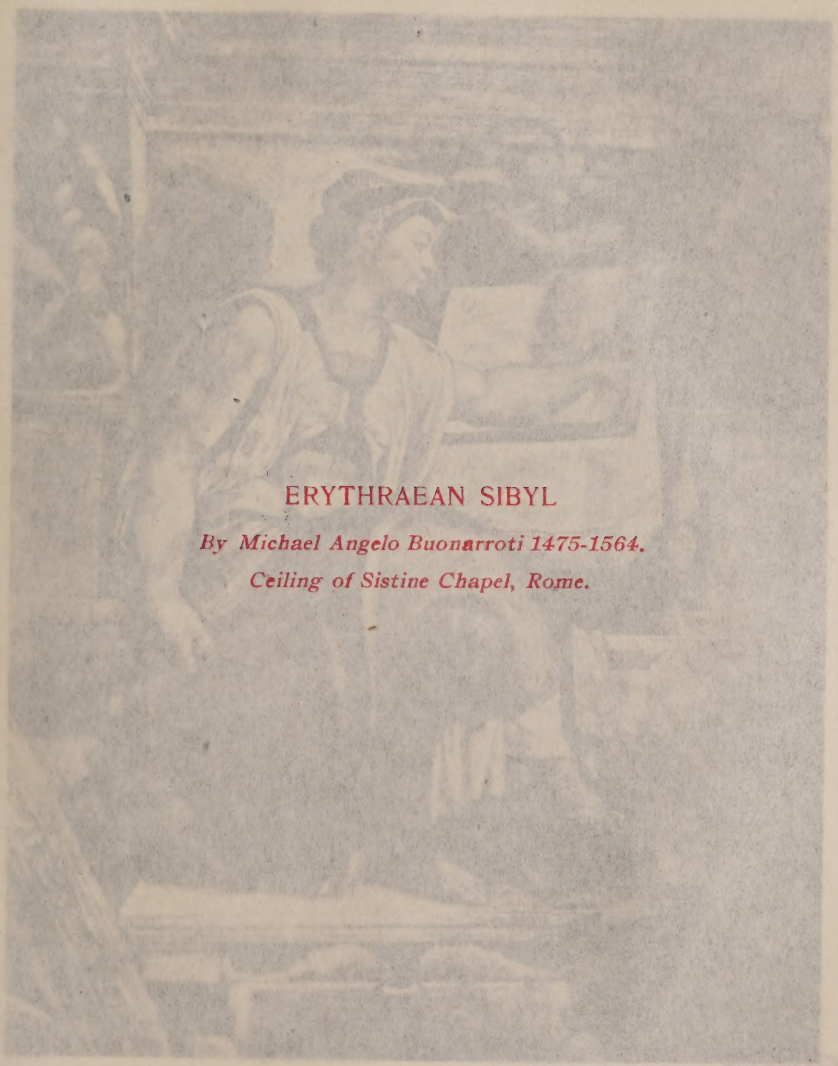
THE NEW COUNTRIES

IT IS NOT necessary for us to trace in detail the exploration and settlement of the New World. The causes back of these movements were the same as always in colonization—the spirit of adventure, of the missionary, of fortune-hunting or of trade, or the force of political or religious dissensions at home.

Spain found highly developed, though effete, civilizations in Mexico and Peru and her religious bigotry and lust for gain destroyed them. We give below Cortez' account of the City of Mexico and the Aztec civilization. This is followed by the description of the founding of St. Augustine, the oldest town in America. The account, besides its natural interest, and its importance on account of the event it describes, incidentally at its close shows the intolerance of the time.

The adventures of the Spanish explorers in the south and west and of the French in Canada and the Central west fill many volumes. A part of these adventures are recounted in the Jesuit Relations in forty-some volumes. We notice below the founding of Quebec the first permanent settlement in Canada.

The English movements toward colonization are closely related to religious and political movements in England and can best be understood by realizing the position of Puritan, Royalist Catholic, and Quaker there. Our account of the English Revolution will give the reader some idea of the state of affairs in England at the time.



ERYTHRAEAN SIBYL

By Michael Angelo Buonarroti 1475-1564.

Ceiling of Sistine Chapel, Rome.

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THE AZTEC CIVILIZATION

CORTES'S ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF MEXICO

FROM HIS SECOND LETTER TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

IN ORDER, most potent Sire, to convey to your Majesty a just conception of the great extent of this noble city of Temixtitan, and of the many rare and wonderful objects it contains; of the government and dominions of Muteczuma, the soverign: of the religious rights and customs that prevail, and the order that exists in this as well as the other cities appertaining to his realm: it would require the labor of many accomplished writers, and much time for the completion of the task. I shall not be able to relate an hundredth part of what could be told respecting these matters; but I will endeavor to describe, in the best manner in my power, what I have myself seen; and imperfectly as I may succeed in the attempt, I am fully aware that the account will appear so wonderful as to be deemed scarcely worthy of credit; since even we who have seen these things with our own eyes, are yet so amazed as to be unable to comprehend their reality. But your Majesty may be assured that if there is any fault in my relation, either in regard to the present subject, or to any other matters of which I shall give your Majesty an account, it will arise from too great brevity rather than extravagance or prolixity in the details; and it seems to me but just to my Prince and Sovereign to declare the truth in the clearest manner, without saying anything that would detract from it, or add to it.

Before I begin to describe this great city and the others already mentioned, it may be well for the better understanding of the subject to say something of the configuration of Mexico, in which they are situated, it being the principal seat of Muteczuma's power. This Province is in the form of a circle, surrounded on all sides by lofty and rugged mountains; its level surface comprises an area of about seventy leagues in circumference, including two lakes, that overspread nearly the whole valley, being navigated by boats more than fifty leagues round. One of these lakes contains fresh and the other, which is the larger of the two, salt water. On one side of the lakes, in the

middle of the valley, a range of highlands divides them from one another, with the exception of a narrow strait which lies between the highlands and the lofty sierras. This strait is a bow-shot wide, and connects the two lakes; and by this means a trade is carried on between the cities and other settlements on the lakes in canoes without the necessity of travelling by land. As the salt lake rises and falls with its tides like the sea, during the time of high water it pours into the other lake with the rapidity of a powerful stream; and on the other hand, when the tide has ebbed, the water runs from the fresh into the salt lake.

This great city of Temixtitan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. All the streets at intervals have openings, through which the water flows, crossing from one street to another; and at these openings, some of which are very wide, there are also very wide bridges, composed of large pieces of timber, of great strength and well put together; on many of these bridges ten horses can go abreast. Foreseeing that if the inhabitants of the city should prove treacherous, they would possess great advantages from the manner in which the city is constructed, since by removing the bridges at the entrances, and abandoning the place, they could leave us to perish by famine without our being able to reach the main land—as soon as I had entered it, I made great haste to build four brigatines, which were soon finished, and were large enough to take ashore three hundred men and the horses, whenever it should become necesssary.

This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of life, as for instance articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. There is a

street for game, where every variety of birds in the country are sold, as fowls, partridges, quails, wild ducks, fly-catchers, widgeons, turtle-doves, pigeons, reed-birds, parrots, sparrows, eagles, hawks, owls, and kestrels; they sell likewise the skins of some birds of prey, with their feathers, head, beak, and claws. There are also sold rabbits, hares, deer, and little dogs, which are raised for eating. There is also an herb street, where may be obtained all sorts of roots and medicinal herbs that the country affords. There are apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, liquids, ointments, and plasters are sold; barbers' shops, where they wash and shave the head; and restauranteurs, that furnish food and drink at a certain price. There is also a class of men like those called in Castile porters, for carrying burdens. Wood and coal are seen in abundance, and braisers of earthenware for burning coals; mats of various kinds for beds, others of a lighter sort for seats, and for halls and bedrooms. There are all kinds of green vegetables, especially onions, leeks, garlic, watercresses, nasturtium, borage, sorrel, artichokes, and golden thistle; fruits also of numerous descriptions, amongst which are cherries and plums, similar to those in Spain; honey and wax from bees, and from the stalks of maize, which are as sweet as the sugar-cane; honey is also extracted from the plant called maguey, which is superior to sweet or new wine; from the same plant they extract sugar and wine, which they also sell. Different kinds of cotton thread of all colors in skeins are exposed for sale in one quarter of the market, which has the appearance of the silk-market at Granada, although the former is supplied more abundantly. Painters' colors, as numerous as can be found in Spain, and as fine shades; deerskins dressed and undressed, dyed different colors; earthen-ware of a large size and excellent quality; large and small jars, jugs, pots, bricks, and and endless variety of vessels, all made of fine clay, and all or most of them glazed and painted; maize or Indian corn, in the grain and in the form of bread, preferred in the grain for its flavor to that of the other islands and terra-firma; pates of birds and fish; great quantities of fish, fresh, salt, cooked and uncooked; the eggs of hens, geese, and of all the other birds I have mentioned, in great abundance, and cakes made of eggs; finally, everything that can be found throughout the whole country is sold in the markets, comprising articles so numerous that to avoid prolixity, and because their names are not retained in my memory, or are unknown to me, I shall not attempt to enumerate them. Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They

sell everything by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell anything by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people observing what is sold, and the measures used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true.

This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use besides the houses containing the idols there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born who inherit estates than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of the enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are fully forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal tower of the church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood-work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions.

Three halls are in this grand temple, which contain the principal idols; these are of wonderful extent and height, and admirable work-

manship, adorned with figures sculptured in stone and wood; leading from the halls are chapels with very small doors, to which the light is not admitted, nor are any persons except the priests, and not all of them. In these chapels are the images of idols, although, as I have before said, many of them are also found on the outside; the principal ones, in which the people have greatest faith and confidence, I precipitated from their pedestals, and cast them down the steps of the temple, purifying the chapels in which they had stood, as they were all polluted with human blood, shed in the sacrifices. In the place of these I put images of Our Lady and the Saints, which excited not a little feeling in Muteczuma and the inhabitants, who at first remonstrated, declaring that if my proceedings were known throughout the country, the people would rise against me; for they believed that their idols bestowed on them all temporal good, and if they permitted them to be ill-treated, they would be angry and without their gifts, and by this means the people would be deprived of the fruits of the earth and perish with famine. I answered, through the interpreters, that they were deceived in expecting any favors from idols, the work of their own hands, formed of unclean things; and that they must learn there was but one God, the universal Lord of all, who had created the heavens and earth, and all things else, and had made them and us; that He was without beginning and immortal, and they were bound to adore and believe Him, and no other creature or thing. I said everything to them I could to divert them from their idolatries, and draw them to a knowledge of God our Lord. Muteczuma replied, the others assenting to what he said, "That they had already informed me they were not the aborigines of the country, but that their ancestors had emigrated to it many years ago; and they fully believed that after so long an absence from their native land, they might have fallen into some errors; that I having more recently arrived must know better than themselves what they ought to believe; and that if I would instruct them in these matters, and make them understand the true faith, they would follow my directions, as being for the best." Afterwards, Muteczuma and many of the principal citizens remained with me until I had removed the idols, purified the chapels, and placed the images in them, manifesting apparent pleasure; and I forbade them sacrificing human beings to their idols as they had been accustomed to do; because, besides being abhorrent in the sight of God, your sacred Majesty had prohibited it by law, and commanded to put to

death whoever should take the life of another. Thus, from that time, they refrained from the practice, and during the whole period of my abode in that city, they were never seen to kill or sacrifice a human being.

The figures of the idols in which these people believe surpass in stature a person of more than ordinary size; some of them are composed of a mass of seeds and leguminous plants, such as are used for food, ground and mixed together, and kneaded with the blood of human hearts taken from the breasts of living persons, from which a paste is formed in a sufficient quantity to form large statues. When these are completed they make them offerings of the hearts of other victims, which they sacrifice to them, and besmear their faces with the blood. For everything they have an idol, consecrated by the use of the nations that in ancient times honored the same gods. Thus they have an idol that they petition for victory in war; another for success in their labors; and so for everything in which they seek or desire prosperity, they have their idols, which they honor and serve.

This noble city contains many fine and magnificent houses; which may be accounted for from the fact, that all the nobility of the country, who are the vassals of Muteczuma, have houses in the city, in which they reside a certain part of the year; and besides, there are numerous wealthy citizens who also possess fine houses. All these persons, in addition to the large and spacious apartments for ordinary purposes, have others, both uppper and lower, that contain conservatories of flowers. Along one of these causeways that lead into the city are laid two pipes, constructed of masonry, each of which is two paces in width, and about five feet in height. An abundant supply of excellent water, forming a volume equal in bulk to the human body, is conveyed by one of these pipes, and distributed about the city, where it is used by the inhabitants for drink and other purposes. The other pipe, in the meantime, is kept empty until the former requires to be cleansed, when the water is let into it and continues to be used till the cleaning is finished. As the water is necessarily carried over bridges on account of the salt water crossing its route, reservoirs resembling canals are constructed on the bridges, through which the fresh water is conveyed. These reservoirs are of the breadth of the body of an ox, and of the same length as the bridges. The whole city is thus served with water, which they carry in canoes through all the streets for sale, taking it from the aqueduct in the following manner: the canoes pass under the bridges on which the reservoirs are placed, when men stationed above

fill them with water, for which service they are paid. At all the entrances of the city, and in those parts where the canoes are discharged, that is, where the greatest quantity of provisions is brought in, huts are erected, and persons stationed as guards, who receive a *certain quid* of everything that enters. I know not whether the sovereign receives this duty or the city, as I have not yet been informed; but I believe that it appertains to the sovereign, as in the markets of other provinces a tax is collected for the benefit of the cacique. In all the markets and public places of this city are seen daily many laborers waiting for some one to hire them. The inhabitants of this city pay a greater regard to style in their mode of dress and politeness of manners than those of the other provinces and cities; since, as the Cacique Muteczuma has his residence in the capital, and all the nobility, his vassals, are in constant habit of meeting there, a general courtesy of demeanor necessarily prevails. But not to be prolix in describing what relates to the affairs of this great city, although it is with difficulty I refrain from proceeding, I will say no more than that the manners of the people, as shown in their intercourse with one another, are marked by as great an attention to the proprieties of life as in Spain, and good order is equally well observed; and considering that they are barbarous people, without the kowledge of God, having no intercourse with civilized nations, these traits of character are worthy of admiration.

In regard to the domestic appointments of Muteczuma, and the wonderful grandeur and state that he maintains, there is so much to be told, that I assure your Highness I know not where to begin my relation, so as to be able to finish any part of it. For, as I have already stated, what can be more wonderful than a barbarous monarch, as he is, should have every object found in his dominions imitated in gold, silver, precious stones, and feathers; the gold and silver being wrought so naturally as not to be surpassed by any smith in the world; the stone work executed with such perfection that it is difficult to conceive what instruments could have been used; and the feather work superior to the finest productions in wax or embroidery. The extent of Muteczuma's dominions has not been ascertained, since to whatever point he despatched his messengers, even two hundred leagues from his capital, his commands were obeyed, although some of his provinces were in the midst of countries with which he was at war. But as nearly as I have been able to learn, his territories are equal in extent to Spain itself, for he sent messengers to the inhabitants of a city called Cumatan (requiring them to become subjects of your Majesty), which is

sixty leagues beyond that part of Putunchan watered by the river Grijalva, and two hundred and thirty leagues distant from the great city; and I sent some of our people a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues in the same direction. All the principle chiefs of these provinces, especially those in the vicinity of the capital, reside, as I have already stated, the greater part of the year in that great city, and all or most of them have their oldest sons in the service of Muteczuma. There are fortified places in all the provinces, garrisoned with his own men, where are also stationed his governors and collectors of the rents and tribute, rendered him by every province; and an account is kept of what each is obliged to pay, as they have characters and figures made on paper that are used for this purpose. Each province renders a tribute of its own peculiar productions, so that the sovereign receives a great variety of articles from different quarters. No prince was ever more feared by his subjects, both in his presence and absence. He possessed out of the city as well as within numerous villas, each of which had its peculiar sources of amusement, and all were constructed in the best possible manner for the use of a great prince and lord. Within the city his palaces were so wonderful that it is hardly possible to describe their beauty and extent; I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them.

There was one palace somewhat inferior to the rest, attached to which was a beautiful garden with balconies extending over it, supported by marble columns, and having a floor formed of jasper elegantly inlaid. There were apartments in this palace sufficient to lodge two princes of the highest rank with their retinues. There were likewise belonging to it ten pools of water, in which were kept the different species of water birds found in this country, of which there is a great variety, all of which are domesticated; for the sea birds there were pools of salt water, and for the river birds, of fresh water. The water is let off at certain times to keep it pure, and is replenished by means of pipes. Each specie of bird is supplied with the food natural to it, which it feeds upon when wild. Thus fish is given to the birds that usually eat it; worms, maize, and the finer seeds, to such as prefer them. And I assure your Highness, that to the birds accustomed to eat fish there is given the enormous quantity of ten arrobas every day, taken in the salt lake. The emperor has three hundred men whose sole employment is to take care of these birds; and there are others whose only business is to attend to the birds that are in bad health.

Over the polls for the birds there corridors and galleries, to which

Muteczuma resorts, and from which he can look out and amuse himself with the sight of them. There is an apartment in the same palace in which are men, women and children, whose faces, bodies, hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes are white from their birth. The emperor has another very beautiful palace, with a large court-yard, paved with handsome flags, in the style of a chess-board. There are also cages, about nine feet in height and six paces square, each of which was half covered with a roof of tiles, and the other half had over it a wooden grate, skilfully made. Every cage contained a bird of prey, of all the species found in Spain, from the kestrel to the eagle, and many unknown there. There was a great number of each kind; and in the covered part of the cages there was a perch, and another on the outside of the grating, the former of which the birds used in the night time, and when it rained; and the other enabled them to enjoy the sun and air. To all these birds fowls were daily given for food, and nothing else. There were in the same palace several large halls on the ground floor, filled with immense cages built of heavy pieces of timber, well put together, in all or most of which were kept lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, and a variety of animals of the cat kind, in great numbers, which were fed also on fowls. The care of these animals and birds was assigned to three hundred men. There was another palace that contained a number of men and women of monstrous size, and also dwarfs, and crooked and ill-formed persons, each of which had their separate apartments. These also had their respective keepers. As to the other remarkable things that the emperor had in his city for his amusement, I can only say that they were numerous and of various kinds.

He was served in the following manner: Every day as soon as it was light, six hundred nobles and men of rank were in attendance at the palace, who either sat, or walked about the halls and galleries, and passed their time in conversation, but without entering the apartment where his person was. The servants and attendants of these nobles remained in the court-yards, of which there were two or three of great extent, and in the adjoining street, which was also very spacious. They all remained in attendance from morning till night; and when his meals were served, the nobles were likewise served with equal profusion, and their servants and secretaries also had their allowance. Daily his larder and wine-cellar were open to all who wished to eat or drink. The meals were served by three or four hundred youths, who brought on an infinite variety of dishes; indeed, whenever he dined or supped, the table was loaded with every kind of flesh, fish, fruits,

and vegetables that the country produced. As the climate is cold, they put a chafing-dish with live coals under every plate and dish, to keep them warm. The meals were served in a large hall, in which Muteczuma was accustomed to eat, and the dishes quite filled the room, which was covered with mats and kept very clean. He sat on a small cushion curiously wrought of leather. During the meals there were present, at a little distance from him, five or six elderly caciques, to whom he presented some of the food. And there was constantly in attendance one of the servants, who arranged and handed the dishes, and who received from others whatever was wanted for the supply of the table. Both at the beginning and end of every meal, they furnished water for the hands; and the napkins used on these occasions were never used a second time; this was the case also with the plates and dishes, which were not brought again, but new ones in place of them; it was the same also with the chafing-dishes. He is also dressed every day in four different suits, entirely new, which he never wears a second time. None of the caciques who enter his palace have their feet covered, and when those for whom he sends enters his presence, they incline their heads and look down, bending their bodies; and when they address him, they do not look him in the face; this arises from excessive modesty and reverence. I am satisfied that it proceeds from respect, since certain caciques reproved the Spaniards for their boldness in addressing me, saying that it showed a want of becoming deference. Whenever Muteczuma appeared in public, which is seldom the case, all those who accompanied him, or whom he accidentally met in the streets, turned away without looking towards him, and others prostrated themselves until he had passed. One of the nobles always preceded him on these occasions, carrying three slender rods erect, which I suppose was to give notice of the approach of his person. And when they descended from the litters, he took one of them in his hand, and held it until he reached the place where he was going. So many and various were the ceremonies and customs observed by those in the service of Muteczuma, that more space than I can spare would be required for the details, as well as a better memory than I have to recollect them; since no sultan or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge now exists, ever had so much ceremonial in his court.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

THE FOUNDING OF ST. AUGUSTINE

MEMOIR OF THE HAPPY RESULT AND PROSPEROUS VOYAGE OF THE FLEET COMMANDED BY THE ILLUSTRIOUS CAPTAIN-GENERAL PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, WHICH SAILED FROM CADIZ ON THE MORNING OF THURSDAY, JUNE 28TH, FOR THE COAST OF FLORIDA, AND ARRIVED THERE ON THE 28TH OF AUGUST, 1565.

BY FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE MENDOZA GRAJALES

Chaplain of the Expedition

I.

THE LORD having granted us favorable weather from the first, five days' sailing brought us in sight of the Lanzarote Islands and *Fuerte Ventura.* The following Wednesday, July 5, 1565, we reached the Canary Islands, which are two hundred and fifty leagues from *Cadiz,* where we stopped three days to lay in a supply of wood and water.

The following Sunday, July 8, our fleet, composed of eight ships, under the direction of our general, left the Canary Islands, and proceeded to the Island of Dominica, which was to be conquered from the *Caribbee* Indians. Unfortunately, the very evening we set sail, our first galley and a patache became separted from us. For two days we coasted up and down, hoping to rejoin them, but without any success; and our admiral, seeing that we should not be able to accomplish it, gave the order for us to sail directly to Dominica, where we were to await them in case they had not arrived before us. During this voyage a shallop, or boat, commanded by Cap. FRANCESCO SANCHEZ sprung a leak, and, as it got beyond the control of the crew, he asked assistance from us, but it was impossible to give him any. The pilot wishing to continue to sail with the other vessels until they should arrive at their destination, and have the leak repaired there, the captain and a soldier had recourse to their swords to oblige the pilot to return to port, being fearful lest they should be all drowned. The pilot declared himself unable to do this on account of the rough weather, so they decided to

make for the cape on the south-west in order to reach the land as soon as possible. Thus it happened that we were obliged to leave them, which we did with deep regret and great anxiety as to what would become of them. The five vessels which remained of our fleet had a prosperous voyage the rest of the way, thanks to our Lord and His blessed Mother. Up to Friday, the 20th, we had very fine weather, but at ten o'clock that day a violent wind arose, which by two in the afternoon had become the most frightful hurricane one could imagine. The sea, which rose to the very clouds, seemed about to swallow us up alive, and such was the fear and apprehension of the pilot and other sailors that I exerted myself to exhort my brethren and companions to repentance. I represented to them the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, His justice and His mercy, and with so much success that I passed the night in confessing them.

Very often the sea washed completely over the deck where we were gathered, one hundred and twenty men having no other place to go, as there was only one between-decks, and that was full of biscuit, wine, and other provisions. We were in such great danger that it was found necessary to lighten the vessel, and we threw a great many barrels of water into the sea, as well as our cooking apparatus and seven millstones which we were taking with us. Most of the reserve rigging and the great ship's cable were cast overboard, and still the waves continued to break over us. The admiral then resolved to throw all the chests of the men into the sea, but the distress of the soldiers was so great that I felt constrained to throw myself at his feet and beg him not to do it. I reminded him that we ought to trust to the great mercy of our Lord, and, like a true Christian, he showed confidence in God, and spared the luggage. When Jesus Christ permitted the return of day, we looked at each other as at men raised from the dead, and, though our suspense during Saturday was no less than that of the preceding night, light itself was a consolation to us; but when night, however, found us again still in the same dangerous situation, we thought we must surely perish, and during this whole night I preached to the crew, and exhorted them to put their trust in God. Sunday morning came, and your Lordship can fancy how we rejoiced to see daylight once more, although the storm continued unabated all day, and until noon of the following Monday, when our Lord deigned to have compassion and mercy on us, and calmed the fury of the winds and waves.

When the tempest arose, our five vessels were sailing in company,

but during the night the hurricane was so violent that they were driven in different directions, and we lost sight of one another for three days. Finally, one morning, we saw a ship approaching which we recognized as one of our fleet, although we had at first feared it was French.

We were all so tired, and our minds so confused by what we had suffered, that the pilots lost all calculations by reckoning as to what was our proper course; but, inspired by the Holy Ghost, they directed the men to steer W. S. W., and we came in sight of the Island of Desirade.

On Sunday, August 5th, the day of Notre Dame des Neiges, just as we were approaching the island, we were assailed by a heavy swell and a westerly gale which drove us back to the Island of Dominica, inhabited by *Caribbee* Indians, where we entered the harbor about nine o'clock in the evening. As soon as we had cast anchor, the captain gave orders to lower and arm the ship's boat, which the sailors manned, and, being provided with jars, went ashore in search of water, of which we were in the greatest need. An Italian domestic whom I had went with them, and in the early morning, while searching for water by a bright moonlight, he discovered at the foot of a tree the largest and most frightful tortoise one could imagine. At the first movement it made, they thought it was a serpent or some other deadly animal, and cried to each other to fly to the shore where their boat was; but afterwards, as there were six of them, they felt ashamed of their fears, and, each taking an oar or a stick, they returned to where they had first heard the sound, and, as I have said, discovered a tortoise. Armed with their oars, they approached it and tried to turn it on its back. The animal fled towards the sea, but they were at last successful in attacking it by one leg, and were able to bring it on to the ship. It required six men next day to cut it up. The creature was a female and contained more than five hundred eggs, each about the size of a hen's egg, and having a yolk and white, but quite round in shape. The meat, especially when roasted, looks and tastes like veal. These tortoises live principally in the sea, although they go on shore to sleep. When they are filled with eggs, as this one was, they deposit them on the ground and cover them with earth, where after a certain time the young hatch out, and then go into the sea to live. On Tuesday morning the admiral fitted out the boat, in which the sailors were to go in search of wood and water, and told me that, if I wished, I might accompany them, although he advised me to be very careful.

Anxious to go ashore, I did not stop to consider all the danger to which I might be exposed. I called my Italian servant and directed him to take a half dozen soiled shirts and some other linen, and gave him a piece of soap with which to wash them when we got on land, which he did very well. I had fifty jars filled with excellent water, in the forest, and then sent off the boat. While my servant and four other men were busy washing the clothing, I climbed upon some rocks on the seashore and amused myself collecting shells, of which there were a great number, when, on raising my eyes, I perceived three entirely naked men descending a hill. As we were in an enemy's country, I thought they must of course be *Caribbees,* and ran as fast as I could to join my companions. Each armed with a half dozen stones, we then went to meet the men. When we came within reach of their voices, we perceived that they were some of our own people, which, considering the condition we thought ourselves in, gave me the greatest pleasure. The explanation of this adventure is this: Only a certain number of us were permitted by the admiral to go ashore, but the poor wretches who remained behind, having also the greatest desire to land, five soldiers agreed to swim after and join us. The distance was greater than it appeared, however, and, the current being very rapid, two out of the five were drowned. The other three crossed the mountain to where I was, and, as they wore no clothing, I thought it must be an ambuscade of *Caribbees.* I had about a hundred Peru jars filled with fresh water, and a large quantity of wood gathered, and at about four o'clock we returned to the ship. Just then so fresh a breeze sprung up that at daylight on Wednesday we found ourselves at the Island of Monserrat, thirty-five leagues from there. It is said that from the Canary Islands to Dominica there are about eight hundred leagues sailing. Farther on are a great many other islands which bear the names of different saints, Guadaloupe and the Virgin Islands. This group appears to be about two hundred leagues in circumference, but the ground is very stony and uninhabitable.

III.

On Saturday, the 25th, the Captain-general (Menendez) came to visit our vessel and get the ordnance for disembarkment at Florida. This ordnance consisted of two rampart pieces, of two sorts of culverins, of very small calibre, powder and balls; and he also took two soldiers to take care of the pieces. Having armed his vessel, he stopped and made us an address, in which he instructed us what we had to do

on arrival at the place where the French were anchored. I will not dwell on this subject, on which there was a good deal said for and against, although the opinion of the general finally prevailed. There were two thousand (hundred) Frenchmen in the seaport into which we were to force an entrance. I made some opposition to the plans, and begged the general to consider that he had the care of a thousand souls, for which he must give a good account. Then followed a fine address, which I shall not repeat here, as it would make my report too long. Please the Lord and the Blessed Virgin, I will, however, report it on my return.

On Monday, August 27, while we were near the entrance to the *Bahama Channel,* God showed to us a miracle from heaven. About nine o'clock in the evening a comet appeared, which showed itself directly above us, a little eastward, giving so much light that it might have been taken for the sun. It went towards the west,—that is, towards Florida,—and its brightness lasted long enough to repeat two *Credos.* According to the sailors, this was a good omen.

On Tuesday, the 28th, we had a calm more dead than anything we had yet experienced while at sea. Our vessel was about one hundred and a half leagues from the first galley and the other vessels. We were all tired, and especially I, from the praying to God to give us weather which should put an end to all trials and disappointments. About two o'clock he had pity on us, and sent so good a wind that we came under full sail to rejoin the galley. One thing happened which I regard as miraculous. While we were becalmed, and after we had joined the other vessels, none of the pilots knew where we were, some pretending we were as much as a hundred leagues from Florida. However, thanks to God and the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, we soon had the pleasure of seeing land. We steered in that direction, anchored near a point of land, and found ourselves actually in Florida, and not very far distant from the enemy, which was for us an occasion of great joy. That evening our general assembled the pilots on the galley to discuss what was to be done. Next day, the 29th, at daylight, the galley and all the other ships weighed anchor, and coasted along in search of the enemy or a harbor favorable for disembarking.

On Monday, the 30th of August, we were assailed by bad weather, which obliged us to anchor. For four days contrary winds continued to blow, or else it was so calm we could not move, during all of which time we were at anchor, about a league and a half from the shore. The captain-general, seeing that neither the pilots nor the

two Frenchmen whom we had taken prisoners, and who belonged to the French colony, could give us any information in regard to the port; and the coast being so flat that we could only recognize a few objects, the general, under these circumstances, decided to send ashore fifty arquebusiers, with some captains. They built fires in order to excite the curiosity of the Indans, and attract them; but they were so stupid that they paid no attention to us, and none came to see us. Our people then decided to penetrate the interior; and after having gone four leagues, they arrived at a village of Indians, who kindly received them, gave them food in abundance, embraced them, and then asked them for some of their things, and the soldiers were generous enough to make them a number of presents. In return the natives gave them two pieces of gold, of low standard, but it showed that they had some, and were in the habit of giving it in exchange. The Frenchmen whom we had with us told us they had been in comunication with them for a long time. The Indians wanted the soldiers to pass the night with them, in order that they might feast them; but the latter declined their offers, being anxious to report the good news to our captain-general. As soon as he had learned the news, he resolved to disembark on Saturday morning, September 1st, and go among these Indians. He took with him a quantity of linen, knives, mirrors, and other little things of that sort, to gain their good will, and get some information as to where the French were. One of the Frenchmen of whom I have spoken understood their language. They told us we had left the French about five leagues behind us, precisely at the same spot to which God had conducted us when we arrived in sight of land; but we could not find them, because we had not sent any one ashore.

On Tuesday, the 4th, the fleet left the place of which I have been speaking, and we took a northerly course, keeping all the time close to the coast. On Wednesday, the 5th, two hours before sunset, we saw four French ships at the mouth of a river. When we were two leagues from them, the first galley joined the rest of the fleet, which was composed of four other vessels. The general concerted a plan with the captains and pilots, and ordered the flag-ship, the *San Pelayo*, and a *chaloupe* to attack the French flag-ship, the *Trinity*, while the first galley and another *chaloupe* would attack the French galley, both of which vessels were very large and powerful. All the ships of our fleet put themselves in good position; and the troops were in the best of spirits, and full of confidence in the great talents of the captain-general. They followed the galley; but, as our general is a very clever

and artful officer, he did not fire, nor seek to make any attack on the enemy. He went straight to the French galley, and cast anchor about eight paces from her. The other vessels went to the windward, and very near the enemy. During the manouvers, which lasted until about two hours after sunset, not a word was said on either side. Never in my life have I known such stillness. Our general inquired of the French galley, which was the vessel nearest his, "Whence does this fleet come?" They answered, "From France." "What are you doing here?" said the *Adelantado.* "This the territory of King Philip II. I order you to leave directly; for I neither know who you are nor what you want here." The French commander then replied, "I am bringing soldiers and supplies to the fort of the King of France." He then asked the name of the general of our fleet, and was told, "Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Captain-general of the King of Spain, who have come to hang all Lutherans I find here." Our general then asked him the name of his commander, and he replied, "Lord Gasto." While this parleying was going on, a long-boat was sent from the galley to the flag-ship. The person charged with this errand managed to do it secretly that we could not hear what was said; but we understood the reply of the French to be, "I am the admiral," which made us think he wished to surrender, as they were in so small a force. Scarcely had the French made this reply, when they shipped their cables, spread their sails, and passed through our midst. Our admiral, seeing this, followed the French commander, and called upon him to lower his sails, in the name of King Philip, to which he received an impertinent answer. Immediately our commander gave an order to discharge a small culverin, the ball from which struck the vessel amidships, and I thought she was going to founder. We gave chase, and some time after he again called to them to lower their sails. "I would sooner die first than surrender!" replied the French commander. The order was given to fire a second shot, which carried off five or six men; but, as these miserable devils are very good sailors, they manouvered so well that we could not take one of them; and, notwithstanding all the guns we fired at them, we did not sink one of their ships. We only got possession of one of their large boats, which was of great service to us afterwards. During the whole night our flag-ship (the *Sun Pelayo*) and the galley chased the French flag-ship (*Trinity*) and galley.

Wednesday morning, September 5th, at sunrise, so great a storm arose that we feared we should be shipwrecked; and, as our vessels were so small, we did not dare to remain on the open sea, and regained

the shore; that is, three of our vessels anchored at about a league and a half from it. We had double moorings, but the wind was so strong that one of them broke loose. We prayed the Lord to spare the others, for we could not have prevented them from being driven on to the coast and lost. As our galley was a large vessel, and busy following up the enemy, she could not come to our assistance. So we felt ourselves in danger of being attacked. The same evening, about sunset, we perceived a sail afar off, which we supposed was one of our galleys, and which was a great subject of rejoicing; but, as the ship approached, we discovered it was the French flag-ship (Trinity), which we had fired at the night before. At first we thought she was going to attack us; but she did not dare to do it, and anchored between us and the shore, about a league from us. That night the pilots of our other ships came on board, to consult with the Admiral as to what was to be done. The next morning, being fully persuaded that the storm had made a wreck of our galley, or that, at least, she had been driven a hundred leagues out to sea, we decided that as soon as daylight came we would weigh anchor, and withdraw in good order, to a river *(Seloy)* which was below the French colony, and there disembark, and construct a fort, which we would defend until assistance came to us.

IV.

On Thursday, just as day appeared, we sailed towards the vessel at anchor, passed very close to her, and would certainly have captured her, when we saw another vessel appear on the open sea, which we thought was one of ours. At the same moment, however, we thought we recognized the French admiral's ship. We perceived the ship on the open sea: it was the French galley of which we had been in pursuit. Finding ourselves between these two vessels, we decided to direct our course towards the galley, for the sake of deceiving them and preventing them from attacking us, so as not to give them any time to wait. This bold manouver having succeeded, we sought the river *Seloy* and port, of which I have spoken, where we had the good fortune to find our galley, and another vessel which had planned the same thing we had. Two companies of infantry now disembarked: that of Captian Andres Soyez Patino, and that of Captain Juan de San Vincente, who was a very distinguished gentleman. They were well received by the Indians, who gave them a large house belonging to a chief, and situated near the shore of a river. Immediately Captain Patino and Captain San Vincente, both men of talent and energy,

ordered an intrenchment to be built around this house, with a slope of earth and facines, these being the only means of defence possible in that country, where stones are nowhere to be found. Up to to-day we have disembarked twenty-four pieces of bronze guns of different calibers, of which the least weighed fifteen hundred weight. *Our (Fort Carolin). The energy and talents of those two brave captains, joined to the efforts of their brave soldiers, who had no tools with which to work the earth, accomplished the construction of this fortress of defence; and, when the general disembarked, he was quite surprised with what had been done.*

On Saturday, the 8th, the general landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. As I had gone ashore the evening before, I took a cross and went to meet him, singing the hymn *Te Deum laudamus.* The general marched up to the cross, followed by all who accompanied him, and there they kneeled and embraced the cross. A large number of Indians watched these proceedings and imitated all they saw done. The same day the general took formal *possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, and all the captains took the oath of allegiance to him, as their general and governor of the country.* When this ceremony was ended, he offered to do everything in his power for them, especially for Captain Patino, who during the whole voyage had ardently served the cause of God and of the King, and, I think, will be rewarded for his assiduity and talents in constructing a fort in which to defend ourselves until the arrival of help from *St. Domingo* and *Havana.* The French number about as many as we do, and perhaps more. My advice to the general was not to attack the enemy, but to let the troops rest all winter and wait for the assistance daily expected; and then we may hope to make a successful attack.

God and the Holy Virgin have performed another great miracle in our favor. The day after our general came into the fort, he told he was very much annoyed that his galley and another vessel were anchored about a league out at sea, and were not able to enter the harbor on account of the sandbanks. He felt uneasy, and feared the French would capture or ill-treat them. As soon as this idea took possession of him, he left with about fifty men, to go on board another galley. He gave the order for three of the ship's boats, which were anchored in the river, to go and get the food and troops from on board the galley. The next day our ship went to sea loaded with provisions, and one hundred men besides, and, when about half a

league from the bar, it became so becalmed that it could not advance at all. So they cast anchor, and passed the night in that place. The next morning, as the tide rose, they weighed anchor, and, as daylight advanced, they found themselves astern of two French vessels that had been watching them. The enemy prepared immediately to attack us; but, when our people recognized the French, they addressed a prayer to Our Lady of Utrea, begging for her to send a little wind, for the French were already quite close upon us. One would have said that the spirit of Our Lady immediately descended upon the ship, for the wind freshened, blowing directly toward the channel, so that our galley could take refuge. The French soon followed us; but, as the water is very shallow on the bar, their large ships could not pass over, and our people and provisions got safely into port. Under these circumstances, God granted us two great favors. The first was that on the same evening, after we had landed our troops and provisions, the two vessels sailed away at midnight without being seen by the enemy. One went to Spain, and the other to *Havana,* so that neither was captured. The second favor, and that by which God rendered us a still greater service, happened the next day. A great hurricane came up, and was so severe that, I think, almost all of the French vessels must have been lost; for they were assailed on the most dangerous part of the coast. Our general was very bold in all military matters, and a great enemy of the French. He immediately assembled his captains and planned an expedition to attack the French settlement and fort on the river with five hundred men; and, in spite of the opinion of a majority of them, and of my judgment and another priest, he ordered his plan to be carried out. Accordingly, on Monday, September 17, he set out with five hundred men, well provided with fire-arms and pikes, each soldier carrying with him a sack of bread and supply of wine for the journey. They also took with them two Indian chiefs, who were the implacable enemies of the French, to serve as guides.

In a letter received from the captain-general to-day, the 19th, he wrote me "that the very shallowest of the streams which they forded reached up to the knees; that he passed through very dense forests, and to-morrow, the 20th (Thursday), he hoped to attack the enemy's fort at daybreak." His courage and great zeal make me hope that he will succeed; but he ought to have been a little less eager to carry out his projects, which would have really more advanced the service of his Majesty. Since the departure of the troops, we have suffered

the worst weather and the most horrible tempests that I ever saw. May his Divine Majesty be with us and protect us, for Heaven knows we have need of it. Yesterday evening, Wednesday, the 19th, we sent from the fort twenty men laden with provisions,—bread, wine, and cheese,—but the rain has fallen in such abundance that I am not sure they have been able to join the general and his army. I hope God, however, will do all he can for us, which will enable us to propagate His religion, and destroy the heretics.

V.

This morning, Saturday, the 22nd, just after I had finished the mass of Our Lady, the admiral, at our request, sent some soldiers to fish, that we priests might have something to eat, it being a fast-day. Just as they had arrived at the place for fishing, and were going to throw out their nets, they perceived a man advancing towards them. He unfurled a white flag, which is a sign of peace, when our men surrounded and captured him. He proved to be a Frenchman, one of our enemies, so they made him a prisoner, and brought him to our admiral. The man, thinking we were going to hang him, shed tears, and appeared to be in great distress. I asked him if he were a Catholic, and he told me he was, and recited some prayers. So I consoled him, and told him not to fear anything, but to answer all questions put to him with frankness, which he promised to do. He said there were about seven hundred men in the fort (*Carolin,* on the river *May*), of which one-third were Lutherans, and two priests, who preached the Lutheran doctrines, and in camp eight or ten Spaniards, three of whom were found among the Indians, quite naked, and painted like the natives, who had been wrecked on the coast; and, as no vessel had come into the country for a long time, they had remained with the Indians, some of whom had joined the French, whose fleet had arrived twenty days before.

On Monday, September 24th, about nine o'clock in the morning, the admiral came into port with his frigate, and, as soon as I recognized him, I had the bells rung and great rejoicings made in the camp.

An hour after he arrived, we saw a man approaching with loud cries. I was the first to run to him and get the news. He embraced me with transport, crying, "Victory! victory! the French fort (*Carolin*) is ours!" I promised him the gift due to the bearer of good news, and have given him the best I was able to give. I have related how our brave general was determined, in spite of the opinions of many of

his officers, to attack the French by land with five hundred men; but, as the enterprise we are engaged in is for the cause of Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother, the Holy Spirit has enlightened the understanding of our chief, so that everything has turned to our advantage, and resulted in a great victory. He has shown an ability and energy unequaled by any prince in the world. He has been willing to sacrifice himself, and has been sustained by his captains and his soldiers, whom he has encouraged by his valor and his words more than by any distribution of rewards or other inducements, so that every soldier has fought like a Roman.

I have previously stated that our brave captain-general set out on the 17th of September with five hundred arquebusiers and pikemen, under the guidance of two Indian chiefs, who showed them the route to the enemy's fort. They marched the whole distance until Tuesday evening, the 18th of September, 1565, when they arrived within a quarter of a league of the enemy's fort (*Carolin*), where they remained all night up to their waists in water. When daylight came, Captains Lopez, Patino, and Martin Ochoa had already been to examine the fort, when they went to attack the fort, a greater part of the soldiers were so confused they scarcely knew what they were about.

On Thursday morning our good captain-general, accompanied by his son-in-law, Don Pedro de Valdes and Captain Patino, went to inspect the fort. He showed so much vivacity that he did not seem to have suffered by any of the hardships to which he had been exposed, and, seeing him march off so brisk, the others took courage, and without exception followed his example. It appears the enemy did not perceive their approach until the very moment of the attack, as it was very early in the morning and had rained in torrents. The greater part of the soldiers of the fort were still in bed. Some arose in their shirts, and others, quite naked, begged for quarter; but, in spite of that, more than one hundred and forty were killed. A great Lutheran cosmographer and magician was found among the dead. The rest, numbering about three hundred, scaled the walls, and either took refuge in the forest or on their ships floating in the river, laden with treasures, so that in an hour the fort was in our possession, without our having lost a single man, or even had one wounded. There were six vessels on the river at the time. They took one brig, and an unfinished galley and another vessel, which had been just discharged of a load of rich merchandise, and sunk. These vessels were placed at the entrance to the bar to blockade the harbor, as they expected we would come by sea. Another. laden with wine and merchandise, was

near the port. She refused to surrender, and spread her sails, when they fired on her from the fort, and sunk her in a spot where neither the vessel nor cargo will be lost. The taking of this fort gained us many valuable objects, namely, two hundred pikes,, a hundred helmets, a quantity of arquebuses and shields, a quantity of clothing linen, fine cloths, two hundred tons of flour, a good many barrels of biscuit, two hundred bushels of wheat, three horses, four asses, and two she-asses, hogs, tallow, books, furnace, flour-mill, and many other things of little value. But the greatest advantage of this victory is certainly the triumph which our Lord has granted us, and which will be the means of the Holy Gospel being introduced into this country; a thing necessary to prevent the loss of many souls.

On Monday, the 24th September, 1565, at the vesper hour, our captain-general arrived with fifty foot-soldiers. He was very tired, as well as those who accompanied him. As soon as I learned that he was coming, I ran to my room, put on a new cassock, the best I possessed, and a surplice; and, taking a crucifix in my hand, I went a certain distance to receive him before he arrived in port; and he, like a gentleman and a Christian, knelt, as well as those who came with him, and returned a thousand thanks for the great favors he had received from God. My companions and I walked ahead in a procession, singing the *Te Deum laudamus,* so that our meeting was one of the greatest joy. Our general's zeal for Christianity is so great that all his troubles are but repose for his mind. I am sure that no merely human strength could have supported all that he has suffered; but the ardent desire which he has to serve the Lord in destroying the Lutheran heretics, the enemies of our holy Catholic religion, causes him to be less sensible of the ills he endured.

On Friday, the 28th September, and while the captain-general was asleep, resting after all the fatigues he had passed through, some Indians came to camp, and made us understand by signs, that on the coast toward the south there was a French vessel which had been wrecked. Immediately our general directed the admiral to arm a boat, take fifty men, and go down the river to the sea, to find out what was the matter. About two o'clock the captain-general sent for me, and as he is very earnest, especially about this expedition, he said, "Mendoze, it seems to me I have not done right in separating myself from those troops." I answered, "Your Lordship has done perfectly right; and, if you wanted to undertake a new course, I and your other servants would oppose it, and shield you from the personal dangers

to which you would be exposed." And, notwithstanding I sought to gain him over by such speeches, he would not abandon his project, but told me, in a decided tone, that he wished to set out, and that he commanded me and the captains who remained at the port to accompany him. He said there should be in all twelve men to go in a boat, and two of them Indians, who would serve as guides. We set off immediately to descend the river to the sea, in search of the enemy; and, to get there, we had to march more than two leagues through plains covered with brush, often up to our knees in water, our brave general always leading the march. When we had reached the sea, we went about three leagues along the coast in search of our comrades. It was about ten o'clock at night when we met them, and there was a mutual rejoicing at having found each other. Not far off we saw the camp fires of our enemies, and our general ordered two of our soldiers to go and reconnoiter them, concealing themselves in the bushes, and to observe well the ground where they were encamped, so as to know what could be done. About two o'clock the men returned, saying that the enemy was on the other side of the river, and that we could not get at them. Immediately the general ordered two soldiers and four sailors to return to where we had left our boats, and bring them down the river, so that we might pass over to where the enemy was. Then he marched his troops forward to the river, and we arrived before daylight. We concealed ourselves in a hollow between the sand-hills, with the Indians who were with us; and, when it came light, we saw a great many of the enemy go down the river to get shell-fish for food. Soon after we saw a flag hoisted, as a war-signal. Our general, who was observing all that, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, said to us, "I intend to change these for those of a sailor, and take a Frenchman with me (one of those whom we had brought with us from Spain), and we will go and talk with these Frenchmen. Perhaps they are without supplies, and would be glad to surrender without fighting." He had scarcely finished speaking before he put his plan into execution. As soon as he had called to them, one of them swam towards and spoke to him; told him of their having been shipwrecked, and the distress they were in; that they had not eaten bread for eight or ten days; and, what is more, stated that all, or at least the greater part of them, were Lutherans. Immediately the general sent him back to his countrymen, to say they must surrender, and give up their arms, or he would put them all to death. A French gentleman, who was a sergeant, brought back

the reply that they would surrender on condition their lives should be spared. After having parleyed a long time, our brave captain-general answered *"that he would make no promises, that they must surrender unconditionally, and lay down their arms, because, if he spared their lives, he wanted them to be grateful for it, and, if they were put to death, that that there should be no cause for complaint."* Seeing that there was nothing else left for them to do, the sergeant returned to the camp; and soon after he brought all their arms and flags, and gave them up to the general, and surrendered unconditionally. Finding they were all Lutherans, the captain-general ordered them all put to death; but, as I was a priest, and had bowels of mercy, I begged him to grant me the favor of sparing those whom we might find to be Christians. He granted it; and I made investigations, and found ten or twelve of the men Roman Catholics, whom we brought back. All the others were executed, because they were Lutherans and enemies of our Holy Catholic faith. All this took place on Saturday (St. Michael's Day), September 29, 1565.

I, Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, Chaplain of His Lordship, certify that the foregoing is a statement of what actually happened.

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE MENDOZA GRAJALES.

THE FOUNDING OF QUEBEC

HAVING returned to France after a stay of three years in New France, I proceeded to Sieur de Monts, and related to him the principal events of which I had been a witness since his departure, and gave him the map and plan of the most remarkable coasts and harbors there.

Some time afterward Sieur de Monts determined to continue his undertaking, and complete the exploration of the interior along the great river St. Lawrence, where I had been by order of the late King Henry the Great in the year 1603, for a distance of some hundred and eighty leagues, commencing in latitude 48° 40′, that is, at Gaspé, at the entrance of the river, as far as the great fall, which is in latitude 45° and some minutes, where our exploration ended, and where boats could not pass as we then thought, since we had not made a careful examination of it as we have since done.

Now, after Sieur de Monts had conferred with me several times in regard to his purposes concerning the exploration, he resolved to continue so noble and meritorious an undertaking, notwithstanding the hardships and labors of the past. He honored me with his lieutenancy for the voyage; and, in order to carry out his purpose, he had two vessels equipped, one commanded by Pont Gravé, who was commissioned to trade with the savages of the country and bring back the vessels, while I was to winter in the country.

Sieur de Monts, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the expedition, obtained letters from his majesty for one year, by which all persons were forbidden to traffic in peltry with the savages, on penalties stated in the following commission:

Henry by the Grace of God King of France and Navarre, to our beloved and faithful counsellors, the officers of our admiralty in Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne, bailiffs, marshals, provosts, judges, or their lieutenants, and to each one of them, according to his authority, throughout the extent of their powers, jurisdictions, and precincts, greeting:

Acting upon the information which has been given us by those who have returned from New France, respecting the good quality and

fertility of the lands of that country, and the disposition of the people to accept the knowledge of God, We have resolved to continue the settlement previously undertaken there, in order that our subjects may go there to trade without hindrance. And in view of the proposition to us of Sieur de Monts, gentleman in ordinary of our chamber, and our lieutenant-general in that country, to make a settlement, on condition of our giving him means and supplies for sustaining the expense of it, it has pleased us to promise and assure him that none of our subjects but himself shall be permitted to trade in peltry and other merchandise, for the period of one year only, in the lands, regions, harbors, rivers, and highways throughout the extent of his jurisdiction: this we desire to have fulfilled. For these causes and other considerations impelling us thereto, we command and decree that each one of you, throughout the extent of your powers, jurisdictions, and precincts, shall act in our stead and carry out our will in distinctly prohibiting and forbidding all merchants, masters, and captains of vessels, also sailors and others of our subjects, of whatever rank and profession, to fit out any vessels in which to go themselves or send others in order to engage in trade or barter in peltry and other things with the savages of New France, to visit, trade, or communicate with them during the space of one year, within the jurisdiction of Sieur de Monts, on penalty of disobedience, and the entire confiscation of their vessels, supplies, arms, and merchandise for the benefit of Sieur de Monts; and, in order that the punishment of their disobedience may be assured, you will allow, as we have and do allow, the aforesaid Sieur de Monts or his lieutenants to seize, apprehend, and arrest all violators of our present prohibition and order, also their vessels, merchandise, arms, supplies, and victuals, in order to take and deliver them up to the hands of justice, so that action may be taken not only against the persons, but also the property of the offenders, as the case shall require. This is our will, and we bid you to have it at once read and published in all localities and public places within your authority and jurisdiction, as you may deem necessary, by the first one of our officers or sergeants in accordance with this requisition by virtue of these presents, or a copy of the same, properly attested once only by one of our well-beloved and faithful counsellors, notaries, and secretaries, to which it is our will that credence should be given as to the present original, in order that none of our subjects may claim ground for ignorance, but that all may obey and act in accordance with our will in this matter. We order, moreover, all captains of vessels, mates, and second mates,

and sailors of the same, and others on board of vessels or ships in the ports and harbors of the aforesaid country, to permit, as we have done, Sieur de Monts, and others possessing power and authority from him, to search the aforesaid vessels which shall have engaged in the fur trade after the present prohibition shall have been made known to them. It is our will that, upon the reequisition of the aforesaid Sieur de Monts, his lieutenants, and others having authority, you should proceed against the disobedient and offenders, as the case may require: to this end, we give you power, authority, commission, and special mandate, notwithstanding the act of our council of the 17th day of July last, any hue and cry, Norman charter, accusation, objection, or appeals of whatsoever kind; on account of which and for fear of disregarding which, it is our will that there should be no delay, and, if any of these occur, we have withheld and reserved cognizance of the same to ourselves and our council, apart from all other judges, and have forbidden and prohibited the same to all our courts and judges: for this is our pleasure.

Given at Paris the seventh day of January, in the year of grace sixteen hundred and eight, and the nineteenth of our reign.

Signed, HENRY.

And lower down, by the king, Delomenie. And sealed with the single label of the great seal of yellow wax.

Collated with the original by me, counsellor, notary, and secretary of the king.

I proceeded to Honfleur for embarkation, where I found the vessel of Pont Gravé in readiness. He left port on the 5th of April. I did so on the 13th, arriving at the Grand Bank on the 15th of May, in latitude 45° 15′. On the 26th we sighted Cape St. Mary, in latitude 46° 45′, on the Island of New Foundland. On the 27th of the month we sighted Cape St. Lawrence, on Cape Breton, and also the Island of St. Paul, distant eighty-three leagues from Cape St. Mary. On the 30th we sighted Isle Percée, and Gaspe, in latitude 48° 40′, distant from seventy to seventy-five leagues.

On the 3d of June we arrived before Tadoussac, distant from Gaspé from eighty to ninety leagues; and we anchored in the roadstead of Tadoussac, a league distant from the harbor, which latter is a kind of cove at the mouth of the River Saguenay, and where there are sometimes violent winds, bringing severe cold. It is maintained that from the harbor of Tadoussac it is some forty-five or fifty leagues to

the first fall on this river, which comes from the north-northwest. The harbor is small, and can accommodate only about twenty vessels. It has water enough, and is under shelter of the River Saguenay and a little rocky island, which is almost cut by the river. Elsewhere there are very high mountains, with little soil and only rocks and sand, thickly covered with such wood as fir and birch. There is a small pond near the harbor, shut in by mountains covered with wood. There are two points at the mouth: one on the southwest side, extending out nearly a league into the sea, called Point St. Matthew, or otherwise Point aux Allouettes; and another on the north-west side, extending out one-eighth of a league, and called Point of all Devils, from the dangerous nature of the place. The winds from the south-south-east strike the harbor, which are not to be feared; but those, however, from the Saguenay are. The two points above mentioned are dry at low tide. Our vessel was unable to enter the harbor, as the wind and tide were unfavorable. I at once had the boat lowered, in order to go to the port and ascertain whether Pont Grave had arrived. While on the way, I met a shallop with the pilot of Pont Grave and a Basque, who came to inform me of what had happened to them because they attempted to hinder the Basque vessels from trading, according to the commission obtained by Sir de Monts from his Majesty, that no vessels should trade without permission of Sieur de Monts, as well as expressed in it; and that, notwithstanding the notifications which Pont Grave made in behalf of his Majesty, they did not desist from forcibly carrying on their traffic; and that they have used their arms and maintained themselves so well in their vessels that, discharging all their cannon upon that of Pont Grave, and letting off many musket-shots, he was severely wounded, together with three of his men, one of whom died, Pont Grave meanwhile making no resistance, for at the first shower of musketry he was struck down. The Basques came on board of the vessel and took away all the cannon and arms, declaring that they would trade, notwithstanding the prohibition of the King, and that when they were ready to set out from France they would restore to him his cannon and ammunition, and that they were keeping them in order to be in a state of security. Upon hearing all these particulars I was greatly annoyed at such a beginning, which we might have easily avoided.

Now, after hearing from the pilot all these things, I asked him why the Basque had come on board of our vessel. He told me that he came in behalf of their master, named Darache, and his companions to

obtain assurance from me that I would do them no harm, when our vessel entered the harbor.

I replied that I could not give any until I had seen Pont Grave. The Basque said that, if I had need of anything in their power, they would assist me accordingly. What led them to use this language was simply their recognition of having done wrong, as they confessed, and the fear that they would not be permitted to engage in the whale-fishery. After talking at length, I went ashore to see Pont Grave, in order to deliberate as to what was to be done. I found him very ill. He related to me in detail all that had happened. We concluded that we could only enter the harbor by force, and that the settlement must not be given up for this year, so that we considered it best, in order not to make a bad cause out of a just one, and thus work our ruin, to give them assurances on my part so long as I should remain there, and that Pont Grave should undertake nothing against them, but that justice should be done in France, and their differences should be settled there.

Darache, master of the vessel, begged me to go on board, where he gave me a cordial reception. After a long conference, I secured an agreement between Pont Grave and him, and rquired him to promise that he would undertake nothing against Pont Grave, or what would be prejudicial to the King and Sieur de Monts; that, if he did the contrary, I should regard my promise as null and void. This was agreed to, and signed by each.

In this place were a number of savages who had come for traffic in furs, several of whom came to our vessels with their canoes, which are from eight to nine paces long, and about a pace or pace and a half broad in their middle, growing narrower toward the two ends. They are very apt to turn over, in case one does not understand managing them, and are made of birch bark, strengthened on the inside by little ribs of white cedar, very neatly arranged. They are so light that a man can easily carry one. Each can carry a weight equal to that of a pipe. When they want to go overland to a river where they have business, they carry them with them. From Chouacoet along the coast as far as the harbor of Tadoussac, they are all alike.

After this agreement, I had some carpenters set to work to fit up a little barque of twelve or fourteen tons, for carrying all that was needed for our settlement, which, however, could not be got ready before the last of June.

Meanwhile I managed to visit some parts of the river Saguenay,

a fine river, which has the incredible depth of one hundred and fifty to two hundred fathoms. About fifty leagues from the mouth of the harbor there is, as is said, a great waterfall, descending from a very high elevation with great impetuosity. There are some islands in this river, very barren, being only rocks covered with small furs and heathers. It is half a league broad in places, and a quarter of a league at its mouth, where the current is so strong that at three-quarters flood-tide in the river it is still running out. All the land that I have seen consists only of mountains and rocky promontories, for the most part covered with fir and birch, a very unattractive country on both sides of the river. In a word, it is mere wastes, uninhabited by either animals or birds; for, going out hunting in places which seemed to me the most pleasant, I found only some very small birds, such as swallows and river birds, which go there in summer. At other times there are none whatever, in consequence of the excessive cold. The river flows from the north-west.

The savages told me that after passing the first fall, they meet with eight others, when they go to a day's journey without finding any. Then they pass ten others, and enter a lake, which they are three days in crossing, and they are easily able to make ten leagues a day up stream. At the end of the lake there dwells a migratory people. Of the three rivers which flow into this lake, one comes from the north, very near the sea, where they consider it much colder than in their own country; and the other two from other directions in the interior, where are migratory savages, living only from hunting, and where our savages carry the merchandise we give them for their furs, such as beaver, marten, lynx, and otter, which are found there in large numbers, and which they then carry to our vessels. These people of the north report to our savages that they see the salt sea; and, if that is true, as I think it certainly is, it can be nothing but a gulf entering the interior on the north. The savages say that the distance from the north sea to the port of Tadoussac is perhaps forty-five or fifty days' journey, in consequence of the difficulties presented by the roads, rivers and country, which is very mountainous, and where there is snow for the most part of the year. This is what I have definitely ascertained in regard to this river. I have often wished to explore it, but could not do so without the savages, who were unwilling that I or any of our party should accompany them. Nevertheless, they have promised that I shall do so. This exploration would be desirable, in order to remove the doubts of many persons in regard to the exist-

ence of this sea on the north, where it is maintained that the English have gone in these latter years to find a way to China.

I set out from Tadoussac the last day of the month to go to Quebec. We passed near the island called Hare Island, distant six leagues from the above named port; it is two leagues from the northern, and nearly four leagues from the southern shore. From Hare Island we proceeded to a little river, dry at low tide, up which some seven hundred or eight hundred paces there are two falls. We named it Salmon River, since we caught some of these fish in it. Coasting along the north shore, we came to a point extending into the river, which we called Cape Dauphin, distant three leagues from Salmon River. Thence we proceeded to another, which we named Eagle Cape, distant eight leagues from Cape Dauphin. Between the two there is a large bay, at the extremity of which there is a little river dry at low tide. From Eagle Cape we proceeded to Isle aux Coudres, a good league distant, which is about a league and a half long. It is nearly level, and grows narrower towards the two ends. On the western side there are meadows, and rocky points extending some distance out into the river. On the south-west side it is very reefy, yet very pleasant in consequence of the woods surrounding it. It is distant about half a league from the northern shore, where is a little river extending some distance into the interior. We named it Riviere du Gouffre, since abreast of it the tide runs with extraordinary rapidity; and, although it has a calm appearance, it is always much agitated, the depth there being great: but the river itself is shallow, and there are many rocks at and about its mouth. Coasting along from Isle aux Coudres, we reached a cape which we named Cap de Tourmente, five leagues distant; and we gave it this name because, however little wind there may be, the water rises there as if it were full tide. At this point the water begins to be fresh. Thence we proceeded to the Isle of Orleans, a distance of two leagues, on the south side of which are numerous islands, low, covered with trees and very pleasant, with large meadows, having plenty of game, some being, so far as I could judge, two leagues in length, others a trifle more or less. About these islands are many rocks, also very dangerous shallows, some two leagues distant from the main land on the south.. All this shore, both north and south, from Tadoussac to the Island of Orleans, is mountainous, and the soil very poor. The wood is pine, fir, and birch only, with very ugly rocks, so that in most places one could not make his way.

Now we passed along south of the Island of Orleans, which is a league and a half distant from the main land and a half a league on the north side, being six leagues in length, and one in breadth, or in some places a league and a half. On the north side, it is very pleasant, on account of the great extent of woods and meadows there; but it is very dangerous sailing, in consequence of the numerous points and rocks between the main land and the island, on which are numerous fine oaks and in some places nut-trees, and on the borders of the woods vines and other trees such as we have in France. This place is the commencement of the fine and fertile country of the great river, and is distant one hundred and twenty leagues from its mouth. Off the end of the island is a torrent of water on the north shore, proceeding from a lake ten leagues in the interior: it comes down from a height nearly twenty-five fathoms, above which the land is level and pleasant, although further inland are seen high mountains appearing to be from fifteen to twenty leagues distant.

From the Island of Orleans to Quebec the distance is a league. I arrived there on the 3rd of July, when I searched for a place suitable for our settlement; but I could find none more convenient or better suited than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages, which was covered with nut-trees. I at once employed a portion of our workmen in cutting them down, that we might construct our habitations there: one I set to sawing boards, another to making a cellar and digging ditches, another I sent to Tadoussac with the barque to get supplies, which was promptly accomplished through the zeal of all, and my attention to the work.

Some days after my arrival at Quebec a locksmith conspired against the service of the king. His plan was to put me to death, and, getting possession of our fort, to put into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, then at Tadoussac, beyond which vessels cannot go, from not having a knowledge of the route, nor of the banks and rocks on the way.

In order to execute his wretched plan, by which he hoped to make his fortune, he suborned four of the worst characters, as he supposed, telling them a thousand falsehoods, and presenting to them prospects of acquiring riches.

These four men, having been won over, all promised to act in such a manner as to gain the rest over to their side, so that, for the time being, I had no one with me in whom I could put confidence, which gave them still more hope of making their plan succeed; for

four or five of my companions, in whom they knew that I put confidence, were on board of the barques, for the purpose of protecting the provisions and supplies necessary for our settlement.

In a word, they were so skillful in carrying out their intrigues with those who remained that they were on the point of gaining all over to their cause, even my lackey, promising them many things which they could not have fulfilled.

Being now all agreed, they made daily different plans as to how they should put me to death, so as not to be accused of it, which they found to be a difficult thing. But the devil, blindfolding them all and taking away their reason and every possible difficulty, they determined to take me while unarmed, and strangle me, or to give a false alarm at night, and shoot me as I went out, in which manner they judged that they would accomplish their work sooner than otherwise. They made a mutual promise not to betray each other, on penalty that the first one who opened his mouth should be poinarded. They were to execute their plan in four days, before the arrival of our barques, otherwise they would have been unable to carry out their scheme.

On this very day one of our barques arrived, with our pilot, Captain Testu, a very discreet man. After the barque was unloaded, and ready to return to Tadoussac, there came to him a locksmith, named Natel, an associate of Jean du Val, the head of the conspiracy, who told him that he had promised the rest to do just as they did, but that he did not in fact desire the execution of the plot, yet did not dare to make a disclosure in regard to it from fear of being poinarded.

Antoine Natel made the pilot promise that he would make no disclosure in regard to what he should say, since, if his companions should discover it, they would put him to death. The pilot gave him his assurance in all particulars, and asked him to state the character of the plot which they wished to carry out. This Natel did at length, when the pilot said to him: "My friend you have done well to disclose such a malicious design, and you show that you are an upright man, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But these things cannot be passed by without bringing them to the knowledge of Sieur de Champlain, that he may make provision against them, and I promise you that I will prevail upon him to pardon you and the rest. And I will at once," said the pilot, "go to him without exciting any suspicion; and do you go about your business, listening to all they may say, and not troubling yourself about the rest."

The pilot came at once to me, in a garden which I was having

prepared, and said that he wished to speak to me in a private place, where we could be alone. I readily assented, and we went into the wood, where he related to me the whole affair. I asked who had told it to him. He begged me to pardon him who had made the disclosure, which I consented to do, although he ought to have addressed himself to me. He was afraid, he replied, that you would become angry, and harm him. I told him that I was able to govern myself better than that in such a matter, and desired him to have the man come to me, that I might hear the statement. He went, and brought him all trembling with fear lest I should do him harm. I reassured him, telling him not to be afraid, that he was in a place of safety, and that I should pardon him for all that he had done, together with the others, provided he would tell me in full the truth in regard to the whole matter, and the motive which had impelled them to it. "Nothing," he said, "had impelled them, except that they had imagined that, by giving up the place into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, they might all become rich, and that they did not want to go back to France." He also related to me the remaining particulars in regard to their conspiracy.

After having heard and questioned him, I directed him to go about his work. Meanwhile I ordered the pilot to bring up his shallop, which he did. Then I gave two bottles of wine to a young man, directing him to say to these four worthies, the leaders of the conspiracy, that it was a present of wine, which his friends at Tadoussac had given him, and that he wished to share it with them. This they did not decline, and at evening were on board the barque where he was to give them the entertainment. I lost no time in going there shortly after, and caused them to be seized and held until the next day.

Then were my worthies astonished indeed. I at once had all get up, for it was about ten o'clock in the evening, and pardoned them all on condition that they would disclose to me the truth in regard to all that had occurred, which they did, when I had them retire.

The next day I took the depositions of all, one after the other, in the presence of the pilot and sailors of the vessel, which I had put down in writing; and they were well pleased, as they said, since they had lived only in fear of each other, especially of the four knaves who had ensnared them. But now they lived in peace, satisfied, as they declared, with the treatment which they had received.

The same day I had six pairs of handcuffs made for the authors of the conspiracy: one for our surgeon, named Bonnerme, one for

another, named La Taille, whom the four conspirators had accused, which, however, proved false, and consequently they were given their liberty.

This being done, I took my worthies to Tadoussac, begging Pont Grave to do me the favor of guarding them, since I had as yet no secure place for keeping them, and as we were occupied in constructing our places of abode. Another object was to consult with him, and others on the ship, as to what should be done in the premises. We suggested that, after he had finished his work at Tadoussac, he should come to Quebec with the prisoners, where we should have them confronted with their witnesses, and, after giving them a hearing, order justice to be done according to the offense which they had committed.

I went back the next day to Quebec, to hasten the completion of our storehouse, so as to secure our provisions, which had been misused by all those scoundrels, who spared nothing, without reflecting how they could find more when these failed; for I could not obviate the difficulty until the storehouse should be completed and shut up.

Pont Grave arrived some time after me, with the prisoners, which caused uneasiness to the workmen who remained, since they feared that I should pardon them, and that they would avenge themselves upon them for revealing their wicked design.

We had them brought face to face, and they affirmed before them all which they had stated in their depositions, the prisoners not denying it, but admitting that they had acted in a wicked manner, and should be punished, unless mercy might be exercised towards them; accusing, above all, Jean du Val, who had been trying to lead them into such a conspiracy from the time of their departure from France. Du Val knew not what to say, except that he deserved death, that all stated in the depositions was true, and that he begged for mercy upon himself and the others, who had given in their adherence to his pernicious purposes.

After Pont Grave and I, the captain of the vessel, surgeon, mate, second mate, and other sailors had heard their depositions and face to face statements, we adjudged that it would be enough to put to death Du Val, as the instigator of the conspiracy; and that he might serve as an example to those who remained, leading them to deport themselves correctly in future, in the discharge of their duty; and that the Spaniards and Basques, of whom there were large numbers in the country, might not glory in the event. We adjudged that the

three others be condemned to be hung, but that they should be taken to France and put into the hands of Sieur de Monts, that such ample justice might be done them as he should recommend; that they should be sent with all the evidence of their sentence, as well as that of Jean du Val, who was strangled and hung at Quebec, and his head was put on the end of a pike, to be set up in the most conspicuous place on our fort.

After all these occurences, Pont Grave set out from Quebec, on the 18th of September, to return to France with the three prisoners. After he had gone, all who remained conducted themselves correctly in the discharge of their duty.

I had the work of our quarters continued, which was composed of three buildings of two stories. Each one was three fathoms long, and two and a half wide, with a fine cellar six feet deep. I had a gallery made all around our buildings, on the outside, at the second story, which proved very convenient. There were also ditches, fifteen feet wide and six deep. On the other side of the ditches I constructed several spurs, which enclosed a part of the dwelling, at the points where we placed our cannon. Before the habitation there is a place four fathoms wide and six or seven long, looking out upon the river-bank. Surrounding the habitation are very good gardens, and a place on the north side some hundred or hundred and twenty paces long and fifty or sixty wide. Moreover, near Quebec, there is a little river, coming from a lake in the interior, distant six or seven leagues from our settlement. I am of the opinion that this river, which is north a quarter north-west from our settlement, is the place where Jacques Cartier wintered, since there are still, a league up the river, remains of what seems to have been a chimney, the foundation of which has been found, and indications of there having been ditches surrounding their dwelling, which was small. We found, also, large pieces of hewn, worm-eaten timber, and some three or four cannon-balls. All these things show clearly that there was a settlement there founded by Christians; and what leads me to say and believe that it was that of Jacques Cartier is the fact that there is no evidence whatever that any one wintered and built a house in these places except Jacques Cartier, at the time of his discoveries. This place, as I think, must have been called St. Croix, as he named it, which name has since been transferred to another place fifteen leagues west of our settlement. But there is no evidence of his having wintered in the place now called

St. Croix, nor in any other there, since in this direction there is no river or other place large enough for vessels except the main river or that of which I spoke above; here there is a half a fathom of water at low tide, many rocks, and a bank at the mouth; for vessels, if kept in the main river, where there are strong currents and tides, and ice in the winter, drifting along, would run the risk of being lost; especially as there is a sandy point extending out into the river, and filled with rocks, between which we have found, within the last three years, a passage not before discoverd; but one must go through cautiously, in consequence of the dangerous points there. This place is exposed to the north-west winds; and the river runs as if it were a fall, the tide ebbing two and a half fathoms. There are no signs of buildings here, nor any indications that a man of judgment would settle in this place, there being many other better ones, in case one were obliged to make a permanent stay. I have been desirous of speaking at length on this point, since many believe that the abode of Jacques Cartier was here, which I do not believe, for the reasons here given; for Cartier would have left to posterity a narrative of the matter, as he did in the case of all he saw and discovered; and I maintain that my opinion is the true one, as can be shown by the history which he has left in writing.

THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION

As mentioned above it is unnecessary to trace here the history of the colonization of the New World. The ideas behind the English movement lie embedded in English history. While the spirit of adventure colonized Virginia and the Carolinas with Royalists, religious differences colonized New England, Pennsylvania and Maryland. New York was, of course, at first Dutch, Georgia at first a refuge of debtors. The events of colonial history are found in any school history of our country.

In connection with the movement in England toward a representative government, the so-called Fundamental Orders of Connecticut are important. These form the constitution of the Connecticut colony proper. They were adopted in 1639, largely through the influence of

the minister J. Hooker. So far as known it is the first written constitution for representative government drawn up by a people themselves. The Orders contain the most important principles of the other colonial constitutions and of the present Constituion of the United States.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ORDERS OF CONNECTICUT
1638(9)

Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty God by the wise disposition of His divine prudence so to order and dispose of things that we the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the River of Connecticut and the lands thereunto adjoining; and well knowing where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require, do therefore associate and convene ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth; and do, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which according to the truth of the said Gospel is now practised among us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders and decrees as shall be made, ordered and decreed, as followeth:—

1. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that there shall be yearly two general assemblies or courts, one on the second Thursday in April, the other on the second Thursday in September, following; the first shall be called the Court of Election, wherein shall be yearly officers as shall be found requisite: whereof one to be chosen governor for the year ensuing and until another be chosen, and no other magistrate to be chosen for more than one year; provided always there be six chosen besides the governor; which being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose shall have power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the rule of the word of God; which choice

shall be made by all that are admitted freeman and have taken the oath of fidelity, and cohabitate within this jurisdiction, (having been admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town in which they live), or the major part of such as shall be then present.

2. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid magistrates shall be on this manner: Every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the person deputed to receive them) one single paper with the name of him written in whom he desires to have governor, and he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be governor for that year. And the rest of the magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner: The secretary for the time being shall first read the names of all that are to be put in choice and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank: and every one that hath more written papers than blanks shall be a magistrate for that year; which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen by the court and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there should not be six chosen as aforesaid, besides the governor, out of those which are nominated, then he or they which have the most written papers shall be a magistrate or magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up the aforesaid number.

3. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the secretary shall not nominate any person, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the magistracy which was not propounded in some general court before, to be nominated the next election; and to that end it shall be lawful for each of the towns aforesaid by their deputies to nominate any who they conceive fit to be put to election; and the court may add so many more as they judge requisite.

4. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed that no person be chosen governor above once in two years, and that the governor be always a member of some approved congregation, and formerly of the magistracy within this jurisdiction; and all the magistrates freemen of this commonwealth: and that no magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court if they be present, and in case of absence by some deputed for that purpose.

5. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that to the aforesaid court of election the several towns shall send their deputies, and

when the elections are ended they may proceed in any public service as at other courts. Also the other general court in September shall be for making of laws, and any other public occasion, which concerns the good of the commonwealth.

6. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the governor shall, either by himself or by the secretary, send out summons to the constables of every town for the calling of these two standing courts, on month at least before their several times: and also if the governor require, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same; and if the governor and major part of magistrates shall either neglect or refuse to call the two general standing courts or either of them, as also at other times when the occasion of the commonwealth require, and the greatest part of the magistrates see cause upon any special occasion to call a general court, they may give order to the secretary so to do: if then it be either denied or neglected the said freemen or the the freemen thereof, or the major part of them, shall petition to them so to do; if then it be either denied or neglected the said freemen or the major part of them shall have power to give orders to the constables of the several towns to do the same, and so may meet together, and choose to themselves a moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power, which any other general court may.

7. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed that after there are warrants given out for any of the said general courts, the constable or constables of each town shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly or by going or sending from house to house, that a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together to elect and choose certain deputies to be at the general court then following to agitate the affairs of the commonwealth; which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted inhabitants in the several towns and have taken the oath of fidelity; provided that none be chosen a deputy for any general court who is not a freeman of this commonwealth.

The aforesaid deputies shall be chosen in manner following: Every person that is present and qualified as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written in several papers, as they desire to have chosen for that employment, and these three or four, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen for that time, that have greatest number of papers written for them shall be deputies for that court; whose names shall be endorsed on the back side of the warrant

and returned into the court, with the constable or constables' hand unto the same.

8. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield shall have power, each town, to send four of their freemen as deputies to every general court; and whatsoever towns shall be hereafter added to this jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the court shall judge meet, a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen that are in said towns being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole town to give their votes and allowance to all such laws and orders as may be for the public good, and unto which the said towns are to be bound.

9. It is ordered and decreed, that the deputies thus chosen shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and a place of meeting together before any general court to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the good of the public, as also to examine their own elections, whether according to their order, and if they or the greatest part of them find any election to be illegal, they may exclude such for the present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the court; and if it prove true, the court may fine the party or parties so intruding and the town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to have a new election in a legal way, either in part or in whole. Also the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly at their meetings, or for not coming in due time or place according to appointment; and they may return the said fines into the court if it be refused to be paid, and the treasurer to take notice of it, and to enter or levy the same as he doth other fines.

10. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that every general court, except such as through neglect of the governor and the greatest part of magistrates the freeman themselves do call, shall consist of the governor, or some one chosen to moderate the court, and four other magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the several towns legally chosen; and in case the freemen or larger part of them, through neglect or refusal of the governor and larger part of the magistrates, shall call a court, it shall consist of the larger part of freemen that are present or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them; in which said general courts shall consist of the supreme power of the Commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit of freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of, to several towns or persons, and also shall have power to call either court or magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any

misdemeanor, and may for just causes displace or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offence; and also may deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this commonwealth, except election of magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of freemen.

In which court the governor or moderator shall have power to order the court to give liberty of speech, and silence unseasonable and disorderly speakings, to put all things to vote, and in case the vote be equal, to have the casting vote. But none of these courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court.

11. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that when any general court upon the occasions of the commonwealth have agreed upon any sum or sums of money to be levied upon the several towns within this jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every town to pay of the said levy, provided the committees be made up of an equal number out of each town.

14th January, 1638, the 11 orders aforesaid are voted.

The Oath of the Governor, for the Present.

I, ..., being now chosen to be governor within this jurisdiction, for the year ensuing, and until a new one be chosen, do swear by the great and dreadful name of the everlasting God, to promote the public good and peace of the same, according to the best of my skill; as also will mantain all lawful privileges of the commonwealth; as also that all wholesome laws that are or shall be made by lawful authority here established, be duly executed; and will further the execution of justice according to the rule of God's word; so help me God, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Oath of the Magistrate, for the Present.

I, ..., being chosen a magistrate within this jurisdiction for the year ensuing, do swear by the great and dreadful name of the everlasting God, to promote the public good and peace of the same, according to the best of my skill, and that I will maintain all the lawful privileges thereof according to my understanding, as also assist in the execution of all such wholesome laws as are made or shall be made by lawful authority here establish, and will further the execution of justice for the time aforesaid according to the righteous rule of God's word; so help me God, etc.

MORTON'S CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS

Of Their Houses and Habitations.

THE NATIVES of New England are accustomed to build themselves houses much like the wild Irish; they gather poles in the woods and put the great end of them in the ground, placing them in form of a circle or circumference, and, bending the tops of them in form of an arch, they bind them together with the bark of walnut trees, which is wondrous tough, so that they make the same round on the top for the smoke of their fire to ascend and pass through; these they cover with mats, some made of reeds and some of long flags, or sedge, finely sewed together with needles made of the splinter bones of a crane's leg, with threads made of their Indian hemp, which there grow naturally, leaving several places for doors, which are covered with mats, which may be rolled up and let down again at their pleasure, making use of the several doors, according as the wind sits. The fire is always made in the middle of the house, with windfall commonly, yet sometimes they fell a tree that groweth near the house, and, by drawing in the end thereof, maintain the fire on both sides, burning the tree by degrees shorter and shorter, until it be all consumed, for it burneth night and day. Their lodging is made in three places of the house about the fire; they lie upon blankets, commonly about a foot or 18 inches above the ground, raised upon rails that are borne upon forks; they lay mats under them, and coats of deer skins, otters, beavers, racoons, and of bears' hides, all which they have dressed and converted into good leather, with the hair on, for their coverings, and in this manner they lie as warm as they desire. In the night they take their rest; in the day time either the kettle is on with fish or flesh, by no allowance, or else the fire is employed in the roasting of fishes, which they delight in. The air does beget good stomachs, and they feed continually and are no niggards of their victuals, and they are willing that any one shall eat with them. Nay, if any one that shall come into their houses and there fall asleep, when they see him disposed to lie down, they will spread a mat for him of their own accord, and lay a

roll of skins for a bolster, and let him lie. If he sleep until their meat be dished up, they will set a wooden bowl of meat by him that sleepeth, and wake him, saying, "Cattup keene Meckin." That is, "If you be hungry, there is meat for you, where of if you will eat you may." Such is their humanity.

Likewise, when they are minded to remove, they carry away the mats with them; other materials the place adjoining will yield. They use not to winter and summer in one place, for that would be a reason to make fuel scarce; but, after the manner of the gentry of civilized natives, remove for their pleasures; some times to their hunting places, where they remain keeping good hospitality for that season; and some times to their fishing places, where they abide for that season likewise; and at the spring, when fish comes in plentifully, they have meetings from several places, where they exercise themselves in gaming and playing of juggling tricks and all manner of revelries which they are delighted in; so that it is admirable to behold what pastime they use of several kinds, every one striving to surpass each other. After this manner they spend their time.

Of the Indians' Apparel.

The Indians in these parts do make their apparel of the skins of several sorts of beasts, and commonly of those that do frequent those parts where they do live; yet some of them, for variety, will have the skins of such beasts that frequent the parts of their neighbors, which they purchase of them by commerce and trade.

There skins they convert into very good leather, making the same plume and soft. Some of these skins they dress with the hair on, and some with the hair off; the hairy side in winter time they wear next their bodies, and in warm weather they wear the hair outwards. They make likewise some coats of the feathers of turkies, which they weave together with twine of their own making, very prettily. These garments they wear like mantels knit over their shoulders, and put under their arms. They have likewise another sort of mantel, made of moose skins, which beast is a great large deer, so big as a horse. These skins they commonly dress bare, and make them wondrous white, and stripe them with furs round about the borders, in form like lace set on by a tailor, and some they stripe with fur in works of fantasies of the workmen, wherein they strive to excel one another. And mantels made of bears' skins is a usual wearing among the natives that live where the bears do haunt. They make shoes of moose skins, which is the principal leather used to that purpose; and for want of such leather (which

is the strongest) they make shoes of deer skins, as they dress bare, they make stockings that comes within their shoes, like a stirrup stocking, and is fastened above at their belt, which is about their middle. Every male, after he attains unto age which they call Pubes, weareth a belt about his middle, and a broad peace of leather that goeth between his legs and is tucked up both before and behind under that belt;..... those garments they always put on, when they go a huntings, to keep their skins from the brush of the shrubs, and when they have their apparel on they look like Irish in their trousers, the stockings join so to their breeches. A good well grown deer skin is of great account with them, and it must have the tail on, or else they account it defaced; the tail being three times as long as the tails of our English deer, yea four times so long, this when they travel is wrapped round their body and, with a girdle of their making, bound round about their middles, to which girdle is fastened a bag, in which his instruments be with which he can strike fire upon any occasion.

Thus with their bow in their left hand, and their quiver of arrows at their back, hanging on their left shoulder with the lower end of it in their right hand, they will run away on a dog trot until they come to their journey's end; and, in this kind of ornament, they do seem to me to be handsomer than when they are in English apparel, their gesture being answerable to their own habit and not unto ours.

Their women have shoes and stockings to wear likewise when they please, such as the men have, but the mantle they use to cover their nakedness with is much longer than that which the men use, for, as the men have one deer skin, the women have two sewed together at the full length, and it is so large that it trails after them like a great lady's train; and in time I think they may have their pages to bear them up; and where the men use but one bear skin for a mantle, the women have two sewed together, and if any of their women would at any time shift one, they take that which they intend to make use of, and cast it over them round, before they shift away the other, for modesty, ... which is to be noted in people uncivilized; therein they seem to have as much modesty as civilized people, and deserve to be applauded for it.

Of Their Reverence, and Respect to Age.

It is a thing to be admired, and indeed made a precedent, that a nation yet uncivilized should more respect age than some nations civilized, since there are so many precepts both of divine and humane writers extant to instruct more civil nations: in that particular, where-

in they excel, the younger are always obedient unto the elder people, and at their commands in every respect without grumbling; in all counsels, (as therein they are circumspect to do their actions by advise and counsel, and not rashly or inconsiderately,) the younger men's opinion shall be heard, but the old men's opinion and counsel embraced and followed. Besides, as the elder feed and provide for the younger in infancy, so do the younger, after being grown to years of manhood, provide for those that be aged; and in distribution of acts the elder men are first served by their dispensator; and their counsels (especially if they be powahs), are esteemed as oracles amongst the younger natives.

The consideration of these things, methinks, should reduce some of our irregular young people of civilized nations, when this story shall come to their knowledge, to better manners, and make them ashamed of their former error in this kind, and to become hereafter more dutiful; which is, as a friend, (by observation having found) have herein recorded for that purpose.

Of the Maintaining of Their Reputation.

Reputation is such a thing that it keeps many men in awe, even amongst civilized nations, and is very much stood upon: it is (as one hath very well noted) the awe of great men and of kings. And, since I have observed it to be maintained amongst savage people, I cannot choose but give an instance thereof in this treatise, to confirm the common received opinion thereof.

The Sachem or Sagamore of Sagus made choice, when he came to man's estate, of a lady of noble descent, daughter to Papasiquineo, the Sachem of Sagamore of the territories near Merrimack river, a man of the best note and estimation in all those parts, and (as my countryman Mr. Wood declares in his prospect) a great Nigromancer; this lady the young Sachem with the consent and good liking of her father marries, and takes for his wife. Great entertainment he and his received in those parts at her father's hands, where they were feasted in the best manner that might be expected, according to the customs of their nation, with reveling and such other solemnities as is usual amongst them. The solemnity being ended, Papasiquineo causes a selected number of his men to wait upon his daughter home into those parts that did properly belong to her Lord and husband; where the attendants had entertainment by the Sachem of Sagus and his countrymen: the solemnity being ended, the attendants were gratified.

Not long after the new married lady had a great desire to see her father and her native country, from whence she came; her Lord will-

ing to please her, and not deny her request, amongst them thought to be reasonable, commanded a selected number of his own men to conduct his lady to her father, where, with great respect, they brought her, and, having feasted there a while, returned to their own country again, leaving the lady to continue there at her own pleasure, amongst her friends and old acquaintance, where she passed away the time for a while, and in the end desired to return to her Lord again. Her father, the old Papasiquineo, having notice of her intent, sent some of his men on ambassage to the young Sachem, his son-in-law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing to absent herself from his company any longer, and therefore, as the messengers had in charge, desired the young Lord to send a convoy for her, but he, standing, upon terms of honor, and the maintaining of his reputation, returned to his father-in-law this answer, that, when she departed from him, he caused his men to wait upon her to her father's territories, as it did become him; but, now she had an intent to return, it did become her father to send her back with a convoy of his own people, and that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men to servile, to fetch her again. The old Sachem, Papasikuineo, having this message returned, was enraged to think that his young son-in-law did not esteem him at a higher rate than to capitulate with him about the matter, and returned him this sharp reply; that his daughter's blood and birth deserved more respect than to be so slighted, and, therefore, if he would have her company, he were best to send or come for her.

The young Sachem, not willing to under value himself and being a man of a stout spirit, did not stick to say that he should either send her by his own convey, or keep her; for he was determined not to stoop so low.

So much these two Sachems stood upon terms of reputation with each other, the one would not send her, and the other would not send for her, lest it should be any diminishing of honor on his part that should seem to comply, that the lady (when I came out of the country) remained still with her father; which is a thing worth the noting, that savage people should seek to maintain their reputation so much as they do.

Of Their Traffic and Trade With One Another.

Although these people have not the use of navigation, whereby they may traffic as other nations, that are civilized, use to do, yet do they barter for such commodities as they have, and have a kind of beads instead of money, to buy withal such things as they want, which

they call Wampampeak; and it is of two sorts, the one is white, the other is of a violet color. These are made of the shells of fish. The white with them is as silver with us; the other as our gold; and for these beads they buy and sell, not only amongst themselves, but even with us.

We have used to sell any of our commodities for this Wampampeak, because we know we can have beaver again of them for it: and these beads are current in all the parts of New England, from one end of the coast to the other.

And although some have endeavored by example to have the like made of the same kind of shells, yet none have ever, as yet, attained to any perfection in the composure of them, but that the savages have found a great difference to be in the one and the other; and have known the counterfeit beads from those of their own making; and have, and do slight them.

The skins of beasts are sold and bartered, to such people as have none of the same kind in the parts where they live.

Likewise they have earthen pots of divers sizes, from a quart to a gallon, two or three to boil their victuals in; very strong, though they be thin like our iron pots.

They have dainty wooden bowls of maple, of high price amongst them; and these are dispersed by bartering one with the other, and are but in certain parts of the country made, where the several trades are appropriated to the inhabitants of those parts only.

So, likewise (at the season of the year), the savages that live by the seaside for trade with the inlanders for fresh water, *reles* curious silver *reles* which are bought up of such as have them not frequent in other places: chestnuts, and such like useful things as one place affordeth, are sold to the inhabitants of another, where they are a novelty accounted amongst the natives of the land. And there is no such thing to barter withal, as is their Wampampeak.

Of Their Magazines or Store Houses.

These people are not without providence, though they be uncivilized, but are careful to preserve food in store against winter; which is the corn that they labor and dress in the summer. And, although they eat freely of it, while it is growing, yet have they a care to keep a convenient portion thereof to relieve them in the dead of winter (like to the ant and the bee), which they put under ground.

Their barns are holes made in the earth, that will hold a hogshead of corn a piece in them. In these (when their corn is out of the husk

and well dried) they lay their store in great baskets (which they make of bark) with mats under, about the sides, and on the top; and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth; and in this manner it is preserved from destruction or putrifaction; to be used in case of necessity, and not else.

And I am persuaded, that if they knew the benefit of salt (as they may in time), and the means to make salt meat fresh again, they would endeavor to preserve fish for winter, as well as corn; and that if anything bring them to civility, it will be the use of salt, to have food in store, which is a chief benefit in a civilized commonwealth.

These people have begun already to incline to the use of salt. Many of them would beg salt of me to carry home with them, that had frequented our homes and had been acquainted with out salt meats; and salt I willingly gave them, although I sold them all things else, only because they should be delighted with the use thereof, and think it a commodity of no value in itself, although the benefit was great that might be had by the use of it.

Of Their Admirable Perfection, in the Use of the Senses.

This is a thing not only observed by me and divers of the savages of New England, but, also, by the French of New France, and therefore I am the more encouraged to publish in this treatise my observation of them in the use of their senses; which is a thing that I should not easily have been induced to believe, if I myself had not been an eyewitness of what I shall relate.

I have observed that the savages have the sense of seeing so far beyond any of our nation, that one would almost believe they had intelligence of the devil sometimes, when they have told us of a ship at sea, which they have seen sooner by one hour, yea, two hours earlier, than any Englishman that stood by of purpose to look out, their sight is so excellent.

Their eyes indeed are black as jet; and that color is accounted the strongest for sight. And as they excel us in this particular so much noted, so I think they excel us in all the rest.

This I am sure I have well observed, that in the sense of smelling they have very great perfection; which is confirmed by the opinion of the French that are planted about Canada, who have made relation that they are so perfect in the use of that sense, that they will distinguish between a Spaniard and a Frenchman by the scent of the hand only. And I am persuaded that the author of this relation has seen very probable reasons that have induced him to be of that opinion; and I am the

more willing to give credit thereunto, because I have observed in them so much as that comes to.

I have seen a deer pass by me upon a neck of land, and a savage that has pursued him by the view. I have accompanied him in this pursuit; and the savage, tracking the deer, comes where he finds the view of two deers together, leading several ways. One, he was sure, was fresh, but which (by the sense of seeing) he could not judge; therefor, with his knife, he digs up the earth of one; and by smelling, says, that was not of the fresh deer; then digs he up the other; and viewing and smelling to that, concludes it to be the view of the fresh deer, which he had pursued; and thereby follows the chase, and kills that deer, and I did eat part of it with him; such is their perfection in these two senses.

Of Their Pretty Conjuring Tricks.

If we do not judge amiss of these savages in accounting them witches, yet out of all question we may be bold to conclude them to be but weak witches, such of them as we call by the names of Powahs; some correspondency they have with the devil out of all doubt, as by some of their actions, in which they glory, is manifested. Papasiquineo, that Sachem of Sagamore, is a Powah of great estimation amongst all kind of savages there; he is at their revels (which is the time when a great company of savages meet from several parts of the country, in amity with their neighbors) hath advanced his honor in his feats or juggling tricks (as I may rightly term them) to the admiration of the spectators, whom he endeavored to persuade that he would go under water to the further side of a river, too broad for any man to undertake with a breath, which thing he performed by swimming over, and deluding the company with casting a mist before their eyes that see him enter in and come out, but no part of the way he has been seen; likewise by our English, in the heat of all summer to make ice appear in a bowl of fair water; first, having the water set before him, he hath begun his incantation according to their useful accustom, and before the same has been ended a thick cloud has darkened the air and, on a sudden, a thunder clap hath been heard that has amazed the natives; in an instant he hath shewed a firm piece of ice to goat in the midst of the bowl in the presence of the vulgar people, which doubtless was done by the agility of satan, his consort.

And by means of these sleights, and such like trivial things as these, they gain such estimation amongst the rest of the savages that it is thought a very impious matter for any man to derogate from the

words of these Powahs. In so much as he that should slight them, is thought to commit a crime no less heinous amongst them as sacrilege is with us, as may appear by this one passage, which I will set forth for an instance.

A neighbor of mine that had entertained a savage into his service, to be his factor for the beavor trade amongst his countrymen, delivered unto him divers parcels of commodities fit for them to trade with; amongst the rest there was one coat of more esteem than any of the others, and with this his new entertained merchant man travels amongst his countrymen to truck them away for beaver: as our custom hath been, the savage went up into the country amongst his neighbors for beaver, and returned with some, but not enough answerable to his master's expectation, but being called to an account, and especially for that one coat of special note, made answer that he had given that coat to Tantoquineo, a Powah; to which his master in a rage cried, what have I to do with Tantoquineo? The savage, very angry at the matter, cried, what you speak? you are not a very good man; will you not give Tantoquineo a coat? what's this? as if he had offered Tantoquineo the greatest indignity that could be devised; so great is the estimation and reverence that these people have of these Ingling Powahs, who are usually sent for when any person is sick and ill at ease to recover them, for which they receive rewards as do our surgeons and physicians; and they do make a trade of it, and boast of their skill where they come. One amongst the rest did undertake to cure an Englishman of a swelling of his hand for a parcel of biscuit, which being delivered him he took the party grieved into the woods aside from company, and with the help of the devil (as may be conjectured), quickly recovered him of that swelling, and sent him about his work again.

Of Their Duels, and the Honorable Estimation of Victory Obtained Thereby.

These savages are not apt to quarrel one with another; yet such hath been the occasion that a difference hath happened which hath grown to that height that it has not been reconciled otherwise than by combat, which hath been performed in this manner: the two champions prepared for the fight, with their bows in hand and a quiver full of arrows at their backs, they have entered into the field; the challenger and challenged have chosen two trees, standing within a little distance of each other; they have cast lots for the choice of the trees, then either champion setting himself behind his tree watches an advantage to let fly his shafts, and to gall his enemy; there they continue

shooting at each other; if by chance they espie any part open, they endeavor to gall the combatant in that part, and use much agility in the performance of the task they have in hand. Resolute they are in the execution of their vengeance, when once they have begun; and will in no wise be daunted, or seem to shrink though they do catch a clap with an arrow, but fight it out in this manner until one or both be slain.

I have been shewed the places where such duels have been performed, and have found the trees marked for a memorial of the combat, where that champion hath stood that had the hap to be slain in the duel; and they count it the greatest honor that can be to the surviving combatant, to show the scars of the wounds received in this kind of conflict, and if it happen to be on the arm, as those parts are most in danger in these cases, they will wear a bracelet upon that place of the arm, as a trophy of honor to their dying day.

Of Their Subtilty.

These people are not, as some have thought, a dull, or slender witted people, but very ingenious, and very subtle. I could give many instances to maintain my opinion of them in this; but I will only relate one, which is a passage worthy to be observed.

In the Massachusetts bay lived Cheecatawback, the Sachem or Sagamore of those territories, who had large dominions which he did appropriate to himself.

Into those parts came a great company of savages from the territories of Narohiganset, to the number of 100 persons; and in this sachem's dominions they intended to winter.

When they went hunting for turkeys they spread over such a great scope of ground that a turkey could hardly escape them; deer they killed in great abundance, and feasted their bodies very plentifully; beavers they killed by no allowance; the skins of those they traded away at Wassaguscus with my neighbors for corn, and such other commodities as they had need of; and my neighbors had a wonderful great benefit by their being in those parts. Yea, sometimes (like genious fellows) they would present their merchant with a fat beaver skin, always the tail was not diminished, but presented full and whole; although the tail is a present for a sachem, and is of such masculine virtue that if some of our ladies knew the benefit thereof they would desire to have ships sent for the purpose to trade for the tail alone; it is such a rarity, as is not more esteemed of than reason does require.

But the Sachem Cheecatawback (on whose possessions they usurped, and converted the commodities thereof to their own use, con-

trary to his liking), not being of power to resist them, practiced to do it by a subtle stratagem. And to that end gave it out amongst us, that the cause why these other savages of the Narohigansets came into these parts, was to see what strength we were of, and to watch an opportunity to cut us off, and take that which they found in our custody useful for them; and added further, they would burn our homes, and that they had caught one of his men, named Meshebro, and compelled him to discover to them where their barns, magazines, or storehouses were, and had taken away his corn; and seemed to be in a pitiful perplexity about the matter.

And, the more to add reputation to this tale, desires that his wives and children might be harbored in one of our houses. This was granted; and my neighbors put on corsets, headpieces, and weapons defensive and offensive.

This thing being known to Cheecatawback, he caused some of his men to bring the Narohigansets to trade, that they might see the preparation. The savage, that was a stranger to the plot, simply coming to trade, and finding his merchants look like lobsters, all clad in harness, was in a maze to think what would be the end of it. He made haste to trade away his furs, and took anything for them, wishing himself well rid of them and of the company in the house.

But (as the manner has been) he must eat some furmety before he goes: down he sits and eats, and withal had an eye on every side; and now and then saw a sword or a dagger laid athwart a headpiece, which he wondered at, and asked his guide whether the company were not angry. The guide (that was privy to his lord's plot), answered in his language that he could not tell. But the harmless savage, before he had half filled his belly, started up on a sudden, and ran out of the house in such haste that he left his furmety there, and stayed not to look behind him who came after; glad he was that he had escaped so.

The subtle sachem, he played the tragedian, and feinted a fear of being surprised; and sent to see whether the enemies (as the messenger termed them) were not in the house; and comes in a by-way with his wives and children, and stops the chinks of the out house, for fear the fire might be seen in the night, and be a means to direct his enemies where to find them.

And, in the meantime, he prepared for his ambassador to his enemies a savage, that had lived twelve months in England, to the end it might add reputation to his ambassage. This man he sends to those intruding Narohigansets, to tell them that they did very great injury

to his lord, to trench upon his prerogatives: and advised them to put up their pipes, and be gone in time: if they would not, that his lord would come upon them, and in his aid his friends, the English, who were up in arms already to take his part, and compel them by force to be gone, if they refused to depart by fair means.

This message, coming on the neck of that which doubtless the fearful savage had before related of his escape, and what he had observed, caused all those hundred Narohigansets (that meant us no hurt) to be gone with bag and baggage. And my neighbors were gulled by the subtilty of this sachem, and lost the best trade of beaver that ever they had for the time; and in the end found their error in this kind of credulity when it was too late.

Of a Great Mortality That Happened Amongst the Natives of New England About the Time That the English Came There to Plant.

It fortuned some few years before the English came to inhabit at New Plymouth, in New England, that upon some distaste given in the Massachusetts bay by the Frenchmen, then trading there with the natives for beaver, they set upon the men at such advantage that they killed many of them, burned their ship, then riding at anchor by an island there, now called Peddocks island, in memory of Leonard Peddock that landed there (where many wild anckies haunted that time, which he thought had been tame), distributing them unto five sachems, which were lords of the several territories adjoining: they did keep them so long as they lived, only to sport themselves at them, and made these five Frenchmen fetch them wood and water, which is the general work that they require of a servant. One of these five men, outliving the rest, had learned so much of their language as to rebuke them for their bloody deed, saying that God would be angry with them for it, and that he would in his displeasure destroy them; but the savages (it seems boasting of their strength), replied and said, that they were so many that God could not kill them.

But contrary wise, in short time after the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortal stroke that they died on heaps as they lay in their houses; and the living, that were able to shift for themselves, would run away and let them die, and let their carcasses lie above the ground without burial. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left to live to tell what became of the rest; the living being (as it seems) not able to bury the dead, they were left for crows, kites and vermin to prey upon. And the bones and skulls upon the several places of their habitations made such a spectacle after

my coming into those parts, that, as I travelled in that forest near the Massachusetts, it seemed to me a new found Golgatha.

But otherwise, it is the custom of those Indian people to bury their dead ceremoniously and carefully, and then to abandon that place, because they have no desire the place should put them in mind of mortality; and this mortality was not ended when the Brownists of New Plymouth were settled at Patuxet in New England; and by all likelihood the sickness that these Indians died of was the plague, as by conference with them since my arrival and habitation in those parts, I have learned. And by this means there is as yet but a small number of savages in New England, to that which hath been in former time, and the place is made so much the more fit for the English nation to inhabit it, and erect in it temples to the glory of God.

Of their Religion.

It has been a common received opinion from Cicero, that there is no people so barbarous but have some worship or other. In this particular, I am not of opinion therein with Tully; and, surely, if he had been amongst those people so long as I have been, and conversed so much with them touching this matter of religion, he would have changed his opinion. Neither should we have found this error, amongst the rest, by the help of that wooden prospect, if it had not been so unadvisedly built upon such high land as that coast, (all men's judgments in general) doth not yield, had he but taken the judicial counsel of Sir William Alexander, that sets this thing forth in an exact and conclusive sentence; if he be not too obstinate? he would grant that worthy writer, that these people are *sine side, sine lege, and sine rege,* and he hath exemplified this thing by a familiar demonstration, which I have by long experience observed to be true.

And, me thinks, it is absurd to say they have a kind of worship, and not able to demonstrate whom or what it is they are accustomed to worship. For my part, I am more willing to believe that the elephants (which are reported to be the most intelligent of all beasts) do worship the moon, for the reasons given by the author of this report, as Mr. Thomas May, the mission of the Muses does recite it in his continuation of Lucan's historical poem, rather than this man: to that I must be constrained, to conclude against him, and Cicero, that the natives of New England have no worship nor religion at all; and I am sure it has been so observed by those that need not the help of a wooden prospect for the matter.

Of their Acknowledgement of the Creation, and Immortality of the Soul.

Although these savages are found to be without religion, law, and king (as Sir William Alexander hath well observed), yet are they not altogether without the knowledge of God (historically); for they have it amongst them by tradition that God made one man and one woman, bade them live together and get children, kill deer, beasts, birds, fish and fowl, and what they would at their pleasure; and that their posterity was full of evil, and made God so angry that he let in the sea upon them, and drowned the greatest part of them, that were naughty men (the Lord destroyed so); and they went to Sanaconquam, who feeds upon them (pointing to the center of the earth, where they imagine is the habitation of the devil); the other (which were not destroyed), increased the world, and when they died (because they were good) went to the house of Kytan, pointing to the setting of the sun; where they eat all manner of dainties, and never take pains (as now) to provide it.

Kytan makes provision (they say) and saves them that labor; and there they shall live with him forever, void of care. And they are persuaded that Kytan is he that makes corn grow, trees grow, and all manner of fruits.

And that we that use the book of common prayer do it to declare to them, that cannot read, what Kytan has commanded us, and that we do pray to him with the help of that book; and do make so much account of it, that a savage (who had lived in my house before he had taken a wife, by whom he had children) made this request to me (knowing that I always used him with much more respect than others), that I would let his son be brought up in my house, that he might be taught to read in that book; which request of his I granted; and he was a very joyful man to think that his son should thereby (as he said) become an Englishman; and then he would be a good man.

I asked him who was a good man; his answer was, he that would not lie, nor steal.

These, with them, are all the capital crimes that can be imagined; all other are nothing in respect of those; and he that is free from these must live with Kytan forever, in all manner of pleasure.

Of their Annals and Funerals.

These people, that have by tradition some touch of the immortality of the soul, have likewise a custom to make some monuments over the place where the corpse is interred. But they put a great difference be-

tween persons of noble, and of unnoble, or obscure, or inferior descent. For, indeed, in the grave of the more noble they put a plank in the bottom for the corpse to be laid upon, and on each side a plank, and a plank upon the top in form of a chest, before they cover the place with earth. This done, they erect something over the grave in form of a hearse cloth, as was that of Cheekatawback's mother, which the Plymouth planters defaced because they accounted it an act of superstition; which did breed a brawl; for they hold impious and inhuman to deface the monuments of the dead. They themselves esteem of it as piaculum; and have a custom amongst them to keep their annals and come at certain times to lament and bewail the loss of their friend; and use to black their faces, which they so wear, instead of a mourning ornament, for a longer or a shorter time according to the dignity of the person; so is their annals kept and observed with their accustomed solemnity. Afterwards they absolutely abandon the place, because they suppose the sight thereof will but renew their sorrow.

It was a thing very offensive to them, at our first coming into those parts, to ask of them for any one that had been dead; but of later times it is not so offensively taken to renew the memory of any deceased person, because by our example (which they are apt to follow) it is made more familiar unto them; and they marvel to see no monuments over our dead, and therefore think no great sachem is yet come into those parts, or not as yet dead; because they see the graves all alike.

Of Their Custom in Burning the Country, and the Reason Thereof.

The savages are accustomed to set fire of the country in all places where they come, and to burn it twice a year, viz.: at the spring, and the fall of the leaves. The reason that moves them to do so, is because it would otherwise be so overgrown with underweeds that it would be all a coppice wood, and the people would not be able in any wise to pass through the country out of a beaten path.

The means that they do it with, is with certain mineral stones, that they carry about them in bags made for that purpose of the skins of little beasts, which they convert into good leather, carrying in the same a piece of touch wood, very excellent for that purpose, of their own making. These mineral stones they have from the Piquenteenes (which is to the southward of all the plantations in New England), by trade and traffic with those people.

The burning of the grass destroys the underwoods, and so scorches the elder trees that it shrinks them, and hinders their growth very

much; so that he that will look to find large trees and good timber, must not depend upon the help of a wooden prospect to find them on the upland ground; but must seek for them (as I and others have done), in the lower grounds, where the grounds are wet, when the country is fired, by reason of the snow water that remains there for a time, until the sun by continuance of that hath exhaled the vapors of the earth, and dried up those places where the fire (by reason of the moisture) can have no power to do them any harm; and if he would endeavor to find out any goodly cedars, he must not seek for them on the higher grounds, but make his inquest for them in the valleys, for the savages, by this custom of theirs, have spoiled all the rest; for this custom hath been continued from the beginning.

And lest their firing of the country in this manner should be an occasion of damnifying us, and endangering our habitations, we ourselves have used carefully about the same time to observe the winds, and fire the grounds about our own habitations; to prevent the damage that might happen by any neglect thereof, if the fire should come near those houses in our absence.

For, when the fire is once kindled, it dilates and spreads itself as well against, as with the wind; burning continually night and day, until a shower of rain falls to quench it.

And this custom of firing the country is the means to make it passable; and by that means the trees grow here and there as in our parks; and make the country very beautiful and commodious.

Of Their Inclination to Drunkenness.

Although drunkenness be justly termed a vice which the savages are ignorant of, yet the benefit is very great that comes to the planters by the sale of strong liquor to the savages, who are much taken with the delight of it; for they will pawn their wits, to purchase the acquaintance of it. Yet in all the commerce that I had with them, I never proffered them any such thing; nay, I would hardly let any of them have a dram, unless he were a sachem, or a winnaytue, that is a rich man, or a man of estimation next in degree to a sachem or sagamore. I always told them it was amongst us the sachems drink. But they say if I come to the northern parts of the country I shall have no trade, if I will not supply them with lusty liquors; it is the life of the trade in all those parts; for it so happened that thus a savage desperately killed himself; when he was drunk, a gun being charged and the cock up, he sets the mouth to his breast, and, pulling back the trigger with his foot, shot himself dead.

That the Savages Live a Contented Life.

A gentleman and a traveller, that had been in the parts of New England for a time, when he returned again, in his discourse of the country, wondered (as he said) that the natives of the land lived so poorly in so rich a country, like to our beggars in England. Surely, that gentleman had not time or leisure while he was there truly to inform himself of the state of that country, and the happy life the savages would lead were they once brought to Christianity.

I must confess they want the use and benefit of navigation, (which is the very finest of a flourishing commonwealth), yet are they supplied with all manner of needful things for the maintenance of life and livelihood. Food and raiment are the chief of all that we make the use of; and of these they find no want, but have, and may have, them in most plentiful manner.

If our beggars of England should, with so much ease as they, furnish themselves with food at all seasons, there would not be so many starved in the streets, neither would so many gaols be stuffed, or gallows furnished with poor wretches, as I have seen them.

But they of this sort of our own nation, that are fit to go to this Canaan, are not able to transport themselves; and most of them unwilling to go from the good ale tap, which is the very loadstone of the land by which our English beggars steer their course; it is the north pole to which the *flour-de-luce* of the compass points. The more is the pity that the commonalty of our land are of such leaden capacities as to neglect so brave a country, that doth so plentifully feed many lusty and grave, able men, women and children, that have not the means that a civilized nation hath to purchase food and raiment; which the country with a little industry will yield a man in a very comfortable measure, without overmuch working.

I cannot deny that a civilized nation hath the prëeminence of an uncivilized, by means of those instruments that are found to be common amongst civil people, and the uncivil want the use of, to make themselves masters of those ornaments that make such a glorious show, that will give a man occasion to cry, "*sic transit gloria Mundi.*"

Now since it is but food and raiment that men that live needeth (though not all alike), why should not the natives of New England be said to live richly, having no want of either? Clothes are the badge of sin; and the more variety of fashions is but the greater abuse of the creature: the beasts of the forest do serve to furnish them at any time when they please: fish and flesh they have in great

abundance, which they doth roast and boil.

They are not indeed served in dishes of plate with variety of sauces to procure appetite; that needs not there. The rarity of the air, begot by the medicinal quality of the sweet herbs of the country, always procures good stomachs to the inhabitants.

I must needs commend them in this particular, that, though they buy many commodities of our nation, yet they keep but few, and those of special use.

They love not to be cumbered with many utensils, and although every proprietor knows his own, yet all things (so long as they will last), are used in common amongst them: a biscuit cake given to one, that one breaks it equally into so many parts as there are persons in his company, and distributes it. Plato's commonwealth is so much practiced by these people.

According to human reason, guided only by the light of nature, these people lead the more happy and freer life, being void of care, which torments so many minds of so many Christians: they are not delighted in baubles, but in useful things.

Their natural drink is of the crystal fountain, and this they take up in their hands, by joining them close together. They take up a great quantity at a time, and drink at the wrists. It was the sight of such a feat which made Diogenes hurl away his dish, and, like one that would have this principle confirmed, *Natura paucis contenat,* used a dish no more.

I have observed that they will not be troubled with superfluous commodities. Such things as they find they are taught by necessity to make use of, they will make choice of, and seek to purchase with industry. So that, in respect that their life is so void of care, and they are so loving also that they make use of those things they enjoy (the wife of one excepted), as common goods, and are therein so compassionate that, rather than one should starve through want, they would starve all. Thus do they pass away the time merrily, not regarding our pomp (which they feel daily before their faces), but are better content with their own, which some men esteem so meanly of.

They may be rather accounted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needful; and to be commended for leading a contented life, the younger being ruled by the elder, and the elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devil; and then you may imagine what good rule is like to be amongst them.

HOOKER'S REVIEW OF CHURCH QUESTIONS

THE WAY OF THE CHURCHES OF NEW ENGLAND

THE PREFACE OF THOMAS HOOKER'S "SURVEY OF THE SUMME OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

TRUTH IS the Daughter of time, was the saying of old, and our daily experience gives in evidence the proof hereof, to every man's ordinary observation. Only as in other births, so here, the barrenness and fruitfulness of several ages, depend merely upon God's good pleasure; who opens and shuts the womb of truth from bearing, as He sees fit, according to the counsel of His own will.

Not that there is any change in the truth, but the alteration grows, according to men's apprehensions, to whom it is more or less discovered, according to God's most just judgment, and their own deservings.

Sometimes God makes an eclipse of the truth at midday, that so He might express His wrath from Heaven, against the unthankfulness, profaneness, and atheism of a malignant world.

Hence it was He let loose those hellish delusions, immediately after the ascension of our Saviour; that though His life and conversation gave in evidence beyond gainsaying, that He was true man: though the miracles and wonders He wrought in His life and death, resurrection and ascension, were witnesses undeniable that He was true God; yet there arose a wretched generation of heretics, in the first, second, and third hundred years, who adventured not only against the express verdict of the Scripture, but against sense and experience, fresh in the observation and tradition of living men, with more than satanical impudency to deny both the natures of our blessed Saviour.

Some denied the Deity of our Saviour, and would have Him mere man. As Ebrion, Cerinthus, Montanus, etc. Others deny Him to be true man, as Gnostici, Valentiniani, Marrioniræ.

Sometimes when men entertain the truth in profession, but not in the love of it, and that endeared affection, that is due thereunto, the Lord gives men up to the activity of error, as the apostle speaks,

because they did not love, that the truth should be the truth, they embraced falsehood instead of truth, that so they might be deluded and damned. This made way for Antichrist, and did midwife that man of sin into the world, and by little and little advanced him into his throne. For while men did verbally acknowledge the nature and offices of our Saviour, they did begin, though subtilly, yet really, to usurp the honor and exercise of all to themselves.

First, they began to incroach upon the *Priestly Office* of our Savior, and not only to pray for the dead, but to pray to them, and to attribute too much to the martyrs and their worth; and to derogate from the merits, and that plentiful and perfect redemption wrought alone by the Lord Jesus. The Spouse of Christ thus like the unwise virgins, was taken aside with the slumber of idolatry, till at last she fell fast asleep as the following times give in abundant testimony.

Not long after these sleeps were attended with suitable dreams, for not being content with the simplicity of the Gospel, and the purity of the worship appointed therein: they set forth a new and large edition of devised and instituted ceremonies, coined merely out of the vanity of men's carnal minds, which are so many blinds, were set up by the subtilty of Satan, merely to delude men, and mislead them from the truth of God's worship, under a pretense of directing them more easily in the way of grace: and under a color of kindling, they quenched all true zeal for, and love of truth.

Insomuch that Augustine complained the present condition of the churches in his time, was worse than that of the Jews. They were subject to the burden of legal ceremonies, laid upon them by the Lord; but we (saith the Father) are pressed with presumptions devised by men.

And thus at once they usurped upon the *Prophetical* and jostled our Saviour also out of his *Regal office,* for so they are linked together by the Prophet. He is our King, He is our Law-giver; it is in His power and pleasure to provide His own laws, and appoint the ways of His own worship.

Thus were the *Offices* of our Saviour secretly and cunningly undermined till at last that man of sin, seeing his time, and taking his advantage, ventured openly and impudently to challenge the chair of supremacy.

Boniface the third obtained by policy and treachery, at the hand of Phocas for himself and his successors, that the Bishop of Rome should be the head and chief bishop of all Christian churches.

But the one sword was not sufficient for Hildebrand, he rested not until by his hellish contrivements he had got two swords, to fill both his hands withal, and a triple-crown upon his head, and carried it with mighty violence against the imperial majesty: that whereas no pope in former times might be chosen without the confirmation of the emperor; so now no emperor might be chosen without the confirmation of the pope, as appears in the story of Henry the Emperor.

Thus while the pope pretended to be the vicar and vicegerent of Christ, to supply his absence here on earth, by being caput ministeriale; in issue he jostled him out of the room and right of his *Headship*.

He makes Canons to bind conscience, and so assumes the place of the chief Prophet; gives dispensations, sends out indulgences, sells pardons, retains, and remits sins, improves the treasury of the church to that end, and so challengeth the place of being chief Priest. Lastly, arrogates the plenitude and supremacy of power in causes ecclesiastic and civil, no less than two swords will satisfy, to fill both his hands, and a triple-crown to load his head withal, and thereby arrogates to be head of the church.

When God had revenged the contempt of the authority of His Son, by delivering up such contempters to the tyranny and slavery of Antichrist, by the space of many hundred years: that by their own experience they came to know the difference betwixt the service of God, and the slavery of men: the golden scepter of Christ, and the iron rod of Antichrist; who tortured their consciences upon a continual rack, held their souls smoking over the mouth of the bottomless pit, put them in hell, and plucked them out at his pleasure, whence men desired to die, rather than to live.

They then began to sigh for some deliverance from this spiritual, more than Egyptian bondage; and being thus prepared to lend a listening ear unto the truth, God sent them some little reviving in their extremities, a day-star arising in this their darkness.

He stirred up the spirit of the Waldenses, Armachanus, Wickliff, Hus, and Jerom of Prage, who openly proclaimed the usurpations of that man of sin, stoutly asserted the fulness and sufficiency of the scriptures, cleared and maintained the deciding authority thereof in all the ways and worship of God, and so set up the Lord Jesus, as the only *Prophet* of His church.

After them succeeded Luther, who made a spoil of the pope's treasury, marred wholly his market, and the sale of his indulgencies, and so wonderfully cooled and quenched the fire of purgatory, and

the pope's kitchen: that his holiness, and the wretched rabble of all his black-guard, were forced to improve all their power and policy to crush the credit of that champion, and the authority of that doctrine which he taught, but all in vain.

For the virtue of the bloody sacrifice of Christ once offered for all, the perfect satisfaction, justification, and redemption, came so strongly to be received and maintained in many places and persons of note. That now all the unbloody sacrifices, masses, and multitudes of that trash, which the merit-mongers did studiously set forth for sale, and by which they set up themselves in the hearts of the people, grew to be abhorred of such as were pious and conscientious, and all such who would but suffer themselves to be led by the principles of right reason. And thus the *Priestly* office of our Saviour came in some measure to be acknowledged, and appropriated to him, whose peculiar it was.

Only the *Supremacy of that Kingly Power,* upon which the pope had encroached, and maintained the possession thereof so long, was yet retained and fortified (as reason would) with greatest resolution, nor could he suffer the appearance of any approach or battery to be erected, that might seem to hazard the safety of that, but he sets him fully and fiercely against reformation, which sticks like the cunny-skin at the head principally.

Hence for the surprisal of so strong a place, the Lord in His providence provided many means to make reproaches thereunto by little and little. The counsels of Constance and Basil jostled the pope to the wall, and took the wall of him, made him lower than the counsel, but let him enjoy his headship over all his officers and particular churches.

King Henry the Eighth, he further clipped his wings in temporals, shook off and renounced that supremacy that he had arrogated and erected over kings and kingdoms in former ages; only that is storied of him as his mistake, he cut off the head of popery, but left the body of it (in Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Archdeacons) yet within his realm, and the churches there established.

This power having a double respect: partly to minister, partly to churches: the first of these was abated, when a parity in the ministery came to be acknowldged and received in the churches of the reformation. And that the sole and princely power, which was arrogated and exercised by the bishops and their officers, over the faithful pastors of Christ, was cashiered, as contrary to the government and power bequeathed to each particular officer of his own appointment, who all

have Ministerium, non Dominium, are stewards, not lords of God's inheritance.

But whether all ecclesiastical power be impaled, impropriated and rightly taken unto the Presbyterian alone; or that the people of the particular churches should come in for a share, according to their places and proportions. This is left as the subject of the inquiry of this age, and that which occasions great thoughts of heart of all hands: great thoughts of heart in the Presbytery, as being very loth to part with that so chief privilege, and of which they have taken possession so many years. Great thoughts of heart amongst the churches, how they may clear their right, and claim it in such pious sobriety and moderation, as becomes the saints; being unwilling to lose their cause and comfort, merely upon a nihil dicit, or for ever to be deprived of so precious a legacy, as they conceive this is, though it hath been withheld from them, by the tyranny of the pope, and prescription of times. Nor can they conceive it less, than a heedless betraying of their special liberties, and not selling but casting away their inheritance, and right, by a careless silence, when the course of providence, as the juncture of things now present themselves, allows them a writ Ad melius inquirendum.

And it seems God sets out this disquisition (fall the issue on which side it will) as most suitable and seasonable to these times, which appear fruitful in discoveries. Truth seeming to be in travel, having fulfilled her appointed months, and the instant opportunity of her deliverance drawing on apace, as is the scripture account, may seem to give symptoms to that purpose and such as will not fail.

For these are the times drawing on, wherein prophecies are to attain their performances: and it's a received rule, and I suppose most safe, when prophecies are fulfilled, they are best interpreted, the accomplishment of them is the best commentary.

These are the times, when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters the sea: and these waters of the sanctuary shall increase from the ankles, unto the knees, thence unto the loins, and thence become a river that cannot be passed.

These are the times when people shall be fitted for such privileges, fit I say to obtain them, and fit to use them.

Fit to obtain them at God's hands, for Dan. 12. 4., people shall run too and fro, and knowledge shall increase: they shall be the strength of their desires, improve the most painful exercise of their thoughts, in the most serious search of the mystery of godliness, and

blood-hound like, who are bent upon their prey, they shall most indefatigably trace the truth, and follow the least appearance of the footsteps thereof presented, until they come to see the formings and framings in the first rise, Scire est per causas scire, and thus digging for wisdom as for hid treasures, and seeking the Lord and his will, with their whole heart, they shall find him, and understand it.

Fit to use them, now the Lord will write his laws in their hearts, and put it into their inward parts, and they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, for they shall all know me, from the least of them, to the greatest of them.

And whereas it hath been charged upon the people, that through their ignorance and unskilfulness, they are not able to wield such privileges, and therefore not fit to share in any such power. The Lord hath promised: to take away the veil from all faces in the mountain, the weak shall be as David, and David as an Angel of God. The light of the moon shall be as the sun, and the sun seven times brighter. When he hath not only informed them, but made them to be ashamed of their abominations, and of all that they have done, then he will shew them the frame of his house, and the pattern thereof, the going out thereof, the coming in thereof, the whole fashion thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, all the figures thereof, and laws thereof: and write them in their sight, that they may keep the whole fashion thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and do them. Observe how often the Lord expresseth the enlarged manifestations of himself in those many universals.

All Lawes, All Ordinances, All Figures. 2. Not only *shew all,* but make them *see all,* and do all.

The travail of the truth, as I said, thus drawing on, it hath pleased the Lord to improve the pens and pains of many of his worthies (midwife like) to lighten and ease the throes of the truth, in this sharp and sore travail for a safe delivery.

Amongst these, M. Rutterford hath deserved much for his undefatigable diligence. A man of eminent abilities, the depth of whose judgment, and sharpness in dispute, is evidenced beyond all exception, by that accurate and elaborate piece of his Apologetical exercitations, wherein he appears to be Malleus Jesuitarum, and of their factors and followers the Armenians, who receive their errors by wholesale from them, and retail them out again in their particular treatises. And for these pains of his, I suppose the church will (I must profess for mine own particular I do) owe him much. And perceived it was a pleasing

and pleasant providence, when I perceived by some books, set forth of late, that he did address himself seriously to debate of church discipline, a subject, as of special difficulty, so of special advantage to the truth, and of help to the present times in which we live.

These two things seeming to be great reserves of inquiry, for this last age of the world.

1. Wherein the spiritual rule of Christ's Kingdom consists, the manner how it is revealed and dispensed to the souls of his servants inwardly?

2. The order and manner, how the government of His kingdom is managed outwardly in his churches?

Upon these two things the tedious agitations that are stirring the earth turn: either having their first rise from hence directly, or by a secret influence, these fore-mentioned causes send in and insinuate their special interests indirectly, to make up that, to set forwards the shakings of heaven and earth, which are to be seen even at this day.

This being the season when all the kingdoms of the world are becoming the Lord's and His Christ's: and to this purpose He is taking to Himself His great might, which heretofore He seemed to lay aside and in silence, as Himself speaks in a like case, Psa. 50, to suffer wicked men to put forth their rage, according to their own pleasure, but He resolves by His iron rod to dash those earthen vessels to pieces.

The first of these, to wit, the spiritual kingdom of Christ, is most opposed by a generation of enthusiasts and familists, who having refined the loathsome follies of their former predecessors, do venture to set open their own conceits, with greater insolency, to the view of the world, and under the pretence of free grace, they destroy the grace of God in the power and operations of it, in the hearts and lives of men.

The other, which concerns the managing of the outward kingdom, unless my prospective much deceives me, is coming towards its last trial: because there is more liberty now given to each, to plead their own interests, when in former times the tyranny of Antichrist, and blind obedience unto his dictates, turned the tombstone of untimely silence upon all bosoms, or else the unreasonable rigor of the prelates labored to destroy the being of the defense as soon as it came to the birth.

This present term of God's patience promiseth some allowance to His people, the distressed and despised ones of Christ, sub forma pauperis, to take leave, to lay claim to the privileges, which they have conceived to be part of the legacy bequeathed unto them by the Lord Jesus,

being estated and entitled members of the visible kingdom of His church.

To set out the bounds of these interests, worthy M. Rutterford hath bestowed great labor, which I have again and again attended, and as I do freely acknowledge to have received light therefrom: so I do profess I do readily consent with him in many things.

In the number and nature of officers, as pastors teachers, elders, etc., appointed by Christ and His church.

That the people hath right to call their own officers, and that none must be imposed upon them by patrons and prelates.

That scandalous persons are not fit to be members of a visible church, nor should be admitted.

That the faithful congregations in England are true churches: and therefore it is sinful to separate from them as no churches.

That the members which come commended from such churches to ours here, so that it doth appear to the judgment of the church, whence they come, that they are by them approved, and not scandalous, they ought to be received to church communion with us, as members of other churches with us in N.E. in like case so commended and approved.

To separate from congregations for want of some ordinances: Or,

To separate from the true worship of God, because of the sin of some worshippers, is unlawful.

The consociation of churches is not only lawful, but in some cases necessary.

That when causes are difficult, and particular churches want light and help, they should crave the assistance of such a consociation.

That churches so meeting have right to counsel, rebuke, etc., as the case doth require.

In case any particular church shall walk pertinaciously, either in the profession of error, or sinful practice, and will not hear their counsel, they may and should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them.

That infants of visible churches, born of wicked parents, being members of the church, ought to be baptized.

In these and several other particulars, we fully accord with M. Rutterford, and therefore no man in reason can conceive, that I write in opposition to his book: for then I should oppose myself, and mine own judgment: but for further disquisition and search into some particulars, which pace tanti viri, crave further and fuller discovery.

And hence, *this needs no toleration of religions,* or estrangement of affection, in tolerating the differences of such apprehensions, and that in some things, until further light bring in further conviction and concurrence.

It is confessed by all the Casuists, I know, and that upon a rigid dispute, that longer time is to be allowed to two sorts of people, from whom consent is expected, than from others.

1. To some, who out of the strength of their judgment are able to oppose arguments, in case they come not so well guarded and pointed as they should.

2. To others, the like indulgency is to be lent, who out of their weakness cannot so easily and readily perceive the valor and validity of an argument, to carry the cause, and win their assent thereunto.

Of this latter I profess myself, and therefore plead for allowance, and present forbearance, especially considering, that modestly to inquire into, and for a time to dissent from the judgment of a general counsel, hath been accounted tolerable.

He that will estrange his affection, because of the difference of apprehension in things difficult, he must be a stranger to himself one time or other. If men would be tender and careful to keep off offensive expressions, they might keep some distance in opinion, in some things, without hazard to truth or love. But when men set up their sheaves (though it be but in a dream, as Joseph's was) and fall out with every one, that will not fall down and adore them, they will bring much trouble into the world, but little advantage to the truth, or peace.

Again, the reader must know for his direction in this inquiry, my aim only was, and is, to lay down, and that briefly, the grounds of our practice, according to that measure of light I have received, and to give answer to such reasons, which might seem to weaken the evidence thereof: declining purposely, for the present, the examination of such answers, which are made to the arguments alleged by some of our reverend brethren, touching the same subject; because I would neither prejudice nor prevent their proper defense, which I do suppose in the fittest season, they will so present unto the world, as shall be fully satisfactory to such, as love and desire the knowledge of the truth.

The summary is, we doubt not what we practice, but it's beyond all doubt, that all men are liars, and we are in the number of those poor feeble men, either we do, or may err, though we do not know it, what we have learned, we do profess, and yet profess still to live, that we may learn.

And therefore the errand upon which this present discourse is sent, is summarily to show these two things unto the world:

1. That there must be more said (than yet it has been my happiness to see) before the principles we profess will be shaken, and consequently it cannot be expected, that we should be unsettled in our practice.

2. That I might occasion men eminently gifted to make further search, and to dig deeper, that if there be any vein of reason, which lies yet lower, it might be brought to light, and we profess and promise, not only a ready ear to hear it, but a heart willing to welcome it.

It is the perfection of a man, amidst these many weaknesses, we are surrounded withal, by many changes to come to perfection. It is the honor and conquest of a man truly wise to be conquered by the truth; and he hath attained the greatest liberty, that suffers himself to be led captive thereby.

That the discourse comes forth in such a homely dress and coarse habit, the reader must be desired to consider, it comes out of the wilderness, where curiosity is not studied. Planters if they can provide cloth to go warm, they leave the cuts and lace to those that study to go fine.

As it is beyond my skill, so I profess it is beyond my care to please the niceness of men's palates, with any quaintness of language. They who covet more sauce than meat, they must provide cooks to their mind. It was a cavil cast upon Hierom, that in his writings he was *Ciceroianus non Christianus*: My rudeness frees me wholly from this exception, for being *logo idiotes* as the apostle hath it, if I would, I could not lavish out in the looseness of language, and as the case stands, if I could answer any man's desire in that daintiness of speech, I would not do the matter that injury which is now under my hand: *Ornari res ipsa negat.* The substance and solidity of the frame is that, which pleaseth the builder, it's the painter's work to provide varnish.

If the manner of the discourse should occasion any disrelish in the apprehension of the weaker reader, because it may seem too logical, or scholastical, in regard of the terms I use, or the way of dispute that I proceed in, in some places: I have these two things to profuse:

1. That plainness and perspicuity, both for matter and manner of expression, are the things, that I have conscientiously endeavored in the whole debate: for I have ever thought writings that come abroad, they are not to dazzle, but direct the apprehension of the meanest, and I have accounted it the chiefest part of judicious learn-

ing, to make a hard point easy and familiar in explication. *Qui non vult intelligi, debet negligi.*

2. The nature of the subject that is under my hand, is such, that I was constrained to accommodate and conform my expressions more or less, in some kind of suitableness thereunto: for in some passages of the dispute, the particulars in their very rise and foundation, border so near upon the principles of logic (as whether *ecclesia Catholica visibilis,* was to be attended, as a totum universale, or integrale) that either I must resolve to say nothing, or to speak (though as sparingly as I could of such things) as the quality of the things did require. And let any man make a trial, and I do much mistake myself, but he will be necessitated to take the same course, if he speaks to the cause. If the reader shall demand how far this way of church-proceeding receives approbation by any common concurrence amongst us: I shall plainly and punctually express myself in a word of truth, in these following points, viz.:

Visible saints are the only true and meet matter, whereof a visible Church should be gathered, and confederation is the form.

The Church as totum essential, is, and may be, before officers.

There is no Presbyterian church (*i. e.,* a church made up of the elders of many congregations appointed classwise, to rule all those congregations) in the New Testament.

A Church congregational is the first subject of the keys.

Each congregation completely constituted of all officers, has sufficient power in herself, to exercise the power of the keys, and all church discipline, in all the censures thereof.

Ordination is not before election.

There ought to be no ordination of a minister at large, namely, such as should make him pastor without a people.

The election of the people hath an instrumental *causal virtue* under Christ, to give an outward call unto an officer.

Ordination is only a solemn installing of an officer into the office, unto which he was formerly called.

Children of such, who are members of congregations, ought only to be baptized.

The consent of the people gives a *causal virtue* to the completing of the sentence of excommunication.

Whilst the Church remains a true Church in Christ, it doth not lose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away.

Consociation of churches should be used, as occasion doth require.

Such consociations and synods have allowance to counsel and admonish other churches, as the case may require.

And if they grow obstinate in error or sinful miscarriages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them.

But they have no power to excommunicate.

Nor do their constitutions bind *formaliter and juridice.*

In all these I have leave to profess the joint judgment of all the elders upon the river: of New Haven, Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield; and of most of the elders of the churches in the bay, to whom I did send in particular, and did receive approbation from them, under their hands; of the rest (to whom I could not send) I cannot so affirm; but this I can say, that at a common meeting, I was desired by them all, to publish what now I do.

Lastly, to ease the ordinary reader, who happily is not acquainted with discourses of this kind, I shall take leave to lend him this little advice.

The treatise being divided into four parts, if he will be entreated to survey the table set before the work, by a short and sudden cast of his eye, he shall presently perceive those particulars, which as so many pillars principal, bear up the whole frame.

1. Look at the Church in its first rise and essence; the causes of it, in the efficient, matter and form; the qualification of it, in its precedency, power, privileges, make up the first part.

2. Look at the Church, as completed with all her officers, the number and nature of them, in her elections, and ordinations, where the loathsome title of independency is opened; these lay out the matter of the second part.

3. The Church thus constituted, the power that she exerciseth in admissions, dispensations of sacraments, and censures, especially that grand and great censure of excommunication, how it is to be managed, and the power of it lastly resolved. In these the third part is spent.

4. The consociation of churches in classes, synods, and councils, is shortly discussed in the fourth part.

Let him be intreated to carry these along in his consideration, he will readily know, whether to refer any thing, and where to find any thing; and as readily conceive the method and manner, both of the constitution of the Church, as the house of God, and the right managing of all the occasions and affairs thereof.

In the handling of all these particulars, so full of difficulty and of obscurity, I am not such a stranger at home, but that I am easily sen-

sible of the weight of the matter and my own weakness; and therefore I can profess in a word of truth, that against my own inclination and affection, I was hailed by the importunity to this so hard a task, to kindle my rush candle, to enjoin with the light of others, at least to occasion them to set up their lamps.

Now He, that is the way, the truth, and the life, pave out all the ways of his people, and make their paths plain before them; lead us all into that truth, which will lead us into eternal life; bring us once unto that impotency and impossibility, that we can do nothing against the truth, but for it, that so our congregations, may not only be styled, as Ezekiel's temple, but be really what was prophesied the churches should be, in these last days, *Jehovah Shammah.* In the arms of His everlasting mercy I leave thee, but never cease to wish, spiritual welfare in him.

THOMAS HOOKER.

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

THE POWER of the Crown was greatly increased under Elizabeth mainly through the effects of patriotic feeling for the English arms and the English church. The judges and the members of the Court of Star Chamber were appointed by the Crown, and Elizabeth occasionally levied custom-duties not voted by parliament. In the Bates case the court supported the imposition on currants as legal. James increased the claims of the Crown to the right of levying special customs, but parliament maintained that in ordinary times the King should live from his own possessions and the Tunnage and Poundage revenues. James complicated matters by trying to force on England conformity to the Episcopal church. The Puritans refused to accept a number of the church ceremonies, such as the use of the surplice.

Charles I came to the throne in 1625. He was anxious to carry war against Spain but Parliament delayed granting supplies and after attacking Charles favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, was dissolved by the king. The second parliament was dismissed in the same way. In 1626 Charles forced a loan from individual subjects. The payment was resisted and a number imprisoned. The judges supported the right of the king to imprison on rare occasions, but doubted his right to imprison regularly and permanently. The soldiers that had returned from France, were quartered on the people under martial discipline and this caused much complaint. The third parliament refused supplies until it finally compelled Charles to agree to the Petition of Right. This prohibited forced loans, taxes, and the like, but not customs. The movement might have ended here had not Charles

tried to force religious uniformity. His archbishop Laud did not believe in Calvinism or predestination and though his party was in the minority, tried to impress his ideas on the National Church. He began, too, to introduce a number of "high church" ceremonies that increased the opposition. The king added fuel to the fire by granting a number of unpopular monopolies, and imposing fines for nominal offenses. In 1634 Charles levied a direct tax for ship-money. Payment was widely refused, but the courts decided in favor of the king. The Scots, who were Calvinists, revolted against the new liturgy and canons, and when Charles tried to invade Scotland, he found himself without funds and was forced to grant Scotland practical religious independence. Charles tried to construe the treaty to his own advantage and as war was again threatened, called another parliament on the advice of Lord Stafford. This parliament (1640) refused to grant supplies unless the king would make terms with the Scots, and was dissolved. The Scots invaded England and defeated the royal army. Charles was compelled to summon another parliament in order to get money to indemnify the Scots. This Long Parliament, so-called, enacted that parliament must be called once in three years, impeached and finally executed Stafford and Laud, enacted a law against its dissolution by the king without its own consent, prohibited the levying of customs without its sanction, and in fact began to assume the sovereignty parliament now holds. The king attempted to seize the five leading members, including Hampden and Pym. London rose in arms and the king fled (1642).

Three years after the war began Oliver Cromwell came into prominence and was put at the head of the army by the Independent Puritans. The king was afterwards given up to the English parliment by the Scots to whom he had fled. He was executed in 1649.

For the next ten years Cromwell ruled England. The Independent Puritan party had always been in the minority as compared with the Presbyterian Puritans and Episcopalians, and after Cromwell's death the majority of the people recalled the Stuart dynasty. The revolution seemed a failure, but its idea of the supremacy of parliament lived and was put in the Bill of Rights when the Stuart James was banished from England and William and Mary called to the throne. We give below documents illustrating the new ideas of the time. Besides the movement toward parliament's supremacy, the ebb and flow of victory between Puritan and Royalist drove many to seek homes outside England and greatly influenced the colonization of America.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT

The Petition Exhibited to His Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this Present Parliament Assembled, Concerning Divers Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with the King's Majesty's Royal Answer Thereunto in full Parliament.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Humbly show unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward the First, commonly called, *statutum de tallagio non concedendo,* that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and by authority of parliament held in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition, called a benevolence, or by such like charge, by which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties with instructions have issued, by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways

molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace and others, by command or direction from your majesty or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

And where also by the statute called, "The great charter of the liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseized of his freeholds or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled; or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

And in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it was declared and enacted by authority of parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed, and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices, by your majesty's writs of habeas corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer; no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law.

And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

And whereas also by authority of parliament, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the great charter, and the law of the land; and by the said great charter and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death; but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm or by acts of parliament; and

whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; nevertheless of late divers commissions under your majesty's great seal have issued forth, by which certain high persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order, as is agreeable to martial law, and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial.

By pretext whereof, some of your majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been, adjudged and executed.

And also sundry grievous offenders by color thereof, claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused, or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretense that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commussions as aforesaid, which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by color of them any of your

majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honor of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

[Which petition being read the 2d of June, 1628, the king's answer was thus delivered unto it.

The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as well obliged as of his prerogative.

On June 7th the answer was given in the accustomed form, *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré.*]

SPECIMEN OF THE FIRST WRIT OF SHIP-MONEY

CAROLUS REX, ETC.:—

To the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of our city of London, and to the sheriffs of the same city, and good men in the said city and in the liberties, and members of the same, greeting: Because we are given to understand that certain thieves, pirates, and robbers of the sea, as well Turks, enemies of the Christian name, as others, being gathered together, wickedly taking by force and spoiling the ships, and goods, and merchandise, not only of our subjects, but also the subjects of our friends in the sea, which have been accustomed anciently to be defended by the English nation, and the same, at their pleasure, have

carried away, delivering the men in the same into miserable captivity: and forasmuch as we see them daily preparing all manner of shipping farther to molest our merchants, and to grieve the kingdom, unless remedy be not sooner applied, and their endeavors be not more manly met withal; also the dangers considered which, on every side, in these times of war do hang over our heads, that it behoves us and our subjects to hasten the defense of the sea and kingdom with all expedition or speed that we can; we willing by the help of God chiefly to provide for the defense of the kingdom, safeguard of the sea, security of our subjects, safe conduct of ships and merchandise to our kingdom of England coming, and from the same kingdom to foreign parts passing; forasmuch as we, and our progenitors, kings of England, have been always heretofore masters of the aforesaid sea, and it will be very irksome unto us if that princely honor in our times should be lost or in any thing diminished. And although that charge of defense which concerns all men ought to be supported by all, as by the laws and customs of the kingdom of England has been accustomed to be done: notwithstanding we considering that you constituted in the sea-coasts, to whom by sea as well great dangers are imminent, and who by the same do get more plentiful gains for the defense of the sea, and conservation of our princely honor in that behalf, according to the duty of your alliance against such attempts, are chiefly bound to set to your helping hand; we command firmly, enjoining you the aforesaid mayor, commonalty and citizens, and sheriffs of the said city, and the good men in the same city and in the liberties, and members of the same, in the faith and allegiance wherein you are bound unto us, and as you do love us and our honor, and under the forefeiture of all which you can forfeit to us, that you cause to be prepared and brought to the port of Portsmouth, before the first day of March now next coming, one ship of war of the burden of nine hundred tons, with three hundred and fifty men at the least, as well expert masters, as very able and skilful mariners; one other ship of war of the burden of eight hundred tons, with two hundred and sixty men at the least, as well skilful masters, as very able and expert mariners; four other ships of war, every one of them of the burden of five hundred tons, and every one of them with two hundred men at the least, as well expert masters, as very able and skilful mariners; and one other ship of war of the burden of three hundred tons, with a hundred and fifty men, as well expert masters, as very able and skilful mariners; and also every of the said ships with ordnance, as well greater as lesser, gunpowder, and spears and weapons

and other necessary arms sufficient for war, and with double tackling, and with victuals, until the said first of March, competent for so many men; and from that time, for twenty-six weeks, at your charges, as well in victuals as men's wages, and other things necessary for war, during that time, upon defense of the sea in our service, in command of the admiral of the sea, to whom we shall commit the custody, and as he, on our behalf, shall command them to continue; so that they may be there the same day, at the farthest, to go from thence with our ships, and the ships of other faithful subjects, for the safeguard of the sea, and defense of you and yours, and repulse and vanquishing of whomsoever busying themselves to molest or trouble upon the sea our merchants, and other subjects, and faithful people coming into our dominions for cause of merchandise, or from thence returning to their own countries. Also we have assigned you, the aforesaid mayor and aldermen of the city aforesaid, or any thirteen, or more of you, within thirteen days after the receipt of this writ; to assess all men in the said city, and in the liberties, and members of the same, and the landholders in the same, not having a ship, or any part of the aforesaid ships, nor serving in the same, to contribute to the expenses, about the necessary provision of the premises; and to assess and lay upon the aforesaid city, with the liberties and members thereof viz.: Upon every of them according to their estate and substances, and the portion assessed upon them; and to nominate and appoint collectors in this behalf. Also we have assigned you, the aforesaid mayor, and also the sheriffs of the city aforesaid, with the liberties and members of the same, by distress and other due means; and to commit to prison all those whom you shall find rebellious and contrary in the premises, there to remain until we shall give further order for their delivery. And moreover we command you, that about the premises you diligently attend, and do, and execute those things with effect, upon peril that shall fall thereon: but we will not, that under color of our aforesaid command, more should be levied of the said man than shall suffice for the necessary expenses of the premises; or that any who have levied money for contribution to raise the aforesaid charges, should by this detain the same, or any part thereof; or should presume, by any manner of color, to appropriate the same to other uses; willing, that if more than may be sufficient shall be collected, the same may be paid out among the contributors, for the rate of the part to them belonging.

Witness myself, at Westminster, the twentieth day of October, in the tenth year of our reign.

PYM'S SPEECH AGAINST STRAFFORD

Speech to the Lords in Parliament, Sitting in Westminster Hall, the 12th of April, 1641, after the Recapitulation of the Charge of Treason Against the Earl of Strafford.

My Lords—There has been much time spent to prove our charge, and your lordships have heard my Lord of Strafford's defense with as much patience. You have also heard our evidence summed up, whereby we have proved that he has by traitorous words, counsels, and actions traitorously endeavored to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law. This, my lords, is that poisonous arrow that has tainted his blood, that is that cup of deadly wine that has intoxicated him.

My lords, it comes to my share to show you how mischievous an act of treason it is by that law that he has appealed unto, which is the supreme law (to-wit), public good; for his position was this, that *salus populi* is *suprema lex.* All laws are derived from this as its fountain, and end here as its proper center. And those actions that are opposite to this are against law.

First, my lords, it is such an offense as comprehends all offenses, such a treason as comprehends all treasons.

The earth, my lords, is a seminary of all flowers, so is this a seminary of all offenses.

My lords, this law puts a difference between good and evil: take away the law, my lords, and nature becomes a law to itself. As pride will be a law, lust will be a law, rapine a law, treason a law, which laws have ruled in Ireland ever since my lord came thither.

Take away the king's protection from the people, and you take away the people's allegiance to the king. Prerogative is the bounds of liberty; and, my lords, they must not contest one against another.

My lords, I beseech you consider, you have this under custody; and, if you take away this, you take away your goods, liberties, and lives.

My lord he says that Ireland was a conquered nation. Why, were not all nations conquered? England, Wales, etc.?

The next is this: that it is an offense full of danger to the king's person and crown, it nourishes dissension and tumults in a people. If you consider the histories of the nations under arbitrary government, you shall find them full of cruelty and bloody massacres; yes, if you please to peruse our English histories, you shall find that, when arbitrary government was set up, how many kings fell by cruel and bloody hands, which is fearful to relate.

Thirdly, my lords, it is dangerous to the king: first, in respect to his honor; secondly, in respect of his profit; and, thirdly, in respect of his greatness; yet all these have been put on upon the face of this treason as so many vizards. Can it be, my lords, for the king's honor, to have his ministers to lay all the fault upon the king? To kill, to imprison, to use rapine, to levy war against his people, and to ruin the state, and then all these dishonorable acts to be laid on the king? Is this for the king's honor?

Secondly, it is contrary to his profit: for, if there be not an affectionate supply from the people to the king, he can never grow in his revenue.

Nay, this, my lords, is the king's most certain revenue, that issues from the affection of his people; for other revenue, as lands or the like, are subject to many inconveniences, to many subtractions and pensions, but this is free and wholly to himself. These fourteen years past, since there hath been an unhappy cessation of parliamentary proceedings, the king has had less revenue, and it does him less good.

Nay, there hath been more wanting to the king than many years before. Again, it is unprofitable, and that is worse, for the king lost by it; for it has cost him these two years more than it cost Queen Elizabeth in all her wars in Ireland and Spain,—yea, I fear, more than is to be repaired in an age.

Thirdly, in point of greatness: the world is a society of kingdoms, and it is not enough for a king to be great at home, but to equal his fellow princes abroad; nay, to be above them in honor and majesty, in riches and glory.

But, my lords, these counsels of late that have been given his majesty have rendered him contemptible to his enemies, useless to his distressed friends, and, had they not been prevented, in time would have made him uncapable of any design at home or abroad.

A fourth consideration is this, my lords: it is destructive to wealth

and valor; it corrupts our peace, and in peace makes us have the malignities of war; and for wealth who will venture his goods, life, his liberty, in the way of trading and commerce, when he knows not upon the return of it whether it be his own or not?

Nay, my lords, it imbases the spirits and valor of a nation when they must stand in fear of pilloring, scaffolding, and the like punishments, it makes men to be of base spirits.

Now, my lords, to imbase the king's coin, if it be but six-pence or twelve-pence, it is treason by the law, and a man must die for it. What is it, then, to imbase our spirits, my lords? Truly, it is a matter of great importance.

Fifthly, it does disable the king and makes him unfit to deal with foreign enemies; for every one thinks to slip his neck out of the collar when he shall be forced to it.

The sixth consideration is that it is against the covenant between the king and his people.

Before, my lords, I spoke of a legal oath, but now I speak of a personal, for we swear our allegiance to him, and he the maintenance of our laws to us; he is our husband, and we his wife; he is our father, and we his children; he is to maintain our liberties, and we his dignities and our duties.

And, my lords, Justice Thorpe was condemned and executed for breaking the king's oath. My lords, he broke not his own oath, nor did the king break his oath; and yet for violating that oath the king had taken to his subjects he suffered.

Ah, what an unfortunate man, then, is the prisoner at the bar, that has in all his counsels, in all his words, in all his actions, broken the king's oath, and as much as in him lay, violently persuaded the king to countenance him in all his actions!

The seventh consideration is this, my lords: it is against the end of government, for the end of government is to preserve men in their estates, lives, and liberties; but an arbitrary power destroys all this. The end of government is to advance virtue and goodness and to punish vice: but this cherishes all disorder.

Now, my lords, I come to show the vanity of his excuses that he has made for himself.

The first is the liberty of giving counsel, being a counsellor. True, my lords, he has this liberty, but it is bounded within its lists, and it must be such a counsel as must stand with the sacred majesty, and the prosperity and weal of his subjects; for, if counsel be bad, it poisons

the consciences of princes, it infects their ears, for all government proceeds from the prince, as from a fountain. Now, if the fountain be poisoned, how can the streams be free?

A second shift is that he hopes your lordships will be careful to secure your posterity and not to admit of this as treason.

My lords, I know your lordships will be careful to secure yourselves, but by your virtues, not by your vices.

The third excuse is the goodness of his intentions. Truly, my lords, good and evil lie together, not easily to be discerned, if they be natural corruptions; but for murders, adultery, rapines, and treasons, these are so monstrous that they may easily be distinguished.

And I cannot be persuaded that ever he intended well that acted so ill.

The fourth excuse is the king's necessities.

My lords, this necessity came from his own counsels.

A fifth excuse is that it was for the king's honor and the maintenance of the king's power.

My lords, it has been declared unto you that the king's power does not extend to anything against law by which he has sworn to rule us, and to maintain our liberties and privileges for us; and this has been declared by five parliaments, and also will appear in the case of the petition of right, and in the case of ship-money.

A sixth is that he advised the king to do it with moderation and reparation.

My lords, this is a contradiction; for there can be no reparation for this.

The seventh excuse is that no horrid facts did follow his counsels. Truly, my lords, we thank God, His sacred majesty, and His wise counsel for that, or else God knows what fearful things would have befallen us; nor are we free from it as yet.

To conclude now, my lords, give me leave to entreat you to consider the treasons ordinarily practiced. When the act is done, they cease; as in killing that noble king of France, and the several plots against Queen Elizabeth; but this treason of my Lord of Strafford's is a standing treason, which, when it had been done, it had been permanent from generation to generation.

And now, my lords, these laws that we would have overthrown must now be his judges, and he is to be judged by law; and that law will have mark enough of it to describe it, for it is a law against such as break the fundamental law of the kingdom.

And now, my lords, these laws that he would have overthrown is not to make a new way for blood; nor is the crime of treason in my Lord of Strafford the less because none would venture upon such a horrid treason in two hundred and forty years.

But, my lords, for the making of our charge good by law, as we have fully proved it by testimony, we must resort to counsel with the house of commons, and trust to your lordships' justice.

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE was laid by Pym before the House of Commons in November, 1641. It was rather a great appeal to the people than a mere petition to the king, and expresses the ideas behind the Puritan Revolution more fully than any other document. It was passed by a small majority and presented to the king December 1. The king's unsatisfactory reply, and attempt to seize the five chief exponents of the popular rights, brought on the struggle that compelled him to leave London the second week of 1642.

The Petition of the House of Commons, which accompanied the Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, when it was presented to His Majesty at Hampton Court, December 1, 1641.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:

Your Majesty's most humble and faithful subjects the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do with much thankfulness and joy acknowledge the great mercy and favour of God, in giving your Majesty a safe and peaceable return out of Scotland into your kingdom of England, where the pressing dangers and distempers of the State have caused us with much earnestness to desire the comfort of your gracious presence, and likewise the unity and justice of your royal authority, to give more life and power to the dutiful and loyal counsels and endeavors of your Parliament, for the prevention of that imminent ruin and destruction wherein your kingdoms of England and Scotland are threatened. The duty which we owe to your Majesty and our country, cannot but make us very sensible and apprehensive, that the

multiplicity, sharpness and malignity of those evils under which we have now many years suffered, are fomented and cherished by a corrupt and ill-affected party, who amongst other mischievous devices for the alteration of religion and government, have sought by many false scandals and imputations, cunningly insinuated and dispersed amongst the people, to blemish and disgrace our proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themselves a party and faction amongst your subjects, for the better strengthening themselves in their wicked courses, and hindering those provisions and remedies which might, by the wisdom of your Majesty and counsel of your Parliament, be opposed against help.

For preventing whereof, and the better information of your Majesty, your Peers and all other your loyal subjects, we have been necessitated to make a declaration of the state of the kingdom, both before and since the assembly of this Parliament, unto this time, which we do humbly present to your Majesty, without the least intention to lay any blemish upon your royal person, but only to represent how your royal authority and trust have been abused, to the great prejudice and danger of your Majesty, and of all your good subjects.

And because we have reason to believe that those malignant parties, whose proceedings evidently appear to be mainly for the advantage and increase of Popery, is composed, set up, and acted by the subtile practice of the Jesuits and other engineers and factors for Rome, and to the great danger of this kingdom, and most grievous affliction of your loyal subjects, have so far prevailed as to corrupt divers of your Bishops and others in prime places of the Church, and also to bring divers of these instruments to be of your Privy Council, and other employments of trust and nearness about your Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of your royal children.

And by this means have had such an operation in your counsel and the most important affairs and proceedings of your government, that a most dangerous division and chargeable preparation for war betwixt your kingdoms of England and Scotland, the increase of jealousies betwixt your Majesty and your most obedient subjects, the violent distraction and interruption of this Parliament, the insurrection of the Papists in your kingdom of Ireland, and bloody massacre of your people, have been not only endeavoured and attempted, but in a great measure compassed and effected.

For preventing the final accomplishment whereof, your poor subjects are enforced to engage their persons and estates to the maintaining of a very expensive and dangerous war, notwithstanding they have

already since the beginning of this Parliament undergone the charge of £150,000 sterling, or thereabouts, for the necessary support and supply of your Majesty in these present and perilous designs. And because all our most faithful endeavours and engagements will be ineffectual for the peace, safety and preservation of your Majesty and your people, if some present, real and effectual course be not taken for suppressing this wicked and malignant party:—

We, your most humble and obedient subjects, do with all faithfulness and humility beseech your Majesty,—

1. That you will be graciously pleased to concur with the humble desires of your people in a parliamentary way, for the preserving the peace and safety of the kingdom from the malicious designs of the Popish party:—

For depriving the Bishops of their votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power usurped over the Clergy, and other your good subjects, which they have perniciously abused to the hazard of religion, and great prejudice and oppression of the laws of the kingdom, and just liberty of your people:—

For the taking away such oppressions in religion, Church government and discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them:—

For uniting all such your loyal subjects together as join in the same fundamental truths against the Papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary ceremonies by which divers weak consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest, and for the due execution of those good laws which have been made for securing the liberty of your subjects.

2. That your Majesty will likewise be pleased to remove from your council all such as persist to favour and promote any of those pressures and corruptions wherewith your people have been grieved, and that for the future your Majesty will vouchsafe to take such persons in your great and public affairs, and to take such to be near you in places of trust, as your Parliament may have cause to confide in; that in your princely goodness to your people you will reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near soever.

3. That you will be pleased to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated lands in Ireland which shall accrue to your Crown by reason of this rebellion, that out of them the Crown may be the better supported, and some satisfaction made to your subjects of this kingdom for the great expenses they are like to undergo [in] this war.

Which humble desires of ours being graciously fulfilled by your Majesty, we will, by the blessing and favour of God, most cheerfully undergo the hazard and expenses of this war, and apply ourselves to such other courses and counsels as may support your real estate with honour and plenty at home, with power and reputation abroad, and by our loyal affections, obedience and service, lay a sure and lasting foundation of the greatness and prosperity of your Majesty, and your royal prosperity in future times.

The Grand Remonstrance.

The Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having with much earnestness and faithfulness of affection and zeal to the public good of this kingdom, and His Majesty's honour and service for the space of twelve months, wrestled with great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguished the liberty, peace and prosperity of this kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all His Majesty's good subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation and strength of his own royal throne, do yet find an abounding malignity and opposition in those parties and factions who have been the cause of those evils, and do still labour to cast aspersions upon that which hath been done, and to raise many difficulties for the hindrance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment jealousies between the King and Parliament, that so they may deprive him and his people of the fruit of his own gracious intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the public peace, safety and happiness of this realm.

For the preventing of those miserable effects which such malicious endeavours may produce, we have thought good to declare the root and the growth of these mischievous designs: the maturity and ripeness to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament: the ways of obstruction and opposition by which that progress hath been interrupted: the courses to be taken for the removing those obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutiful and faithful intentions and endeavours of restoring and establishing the ancient honour, greatness and security of this Crown and nation.

The root of all this mischief we find to be a malignant and pernicious design of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government, upon which the religion and justice of this kingdom are firmly established. The actors and promoters hereof have been:

1. The Jesuited Papists, who hate the laws, as the obstacles of that change and subversion of religion which they so much long for.

2. The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherish formality and superstition as the natural effects and more probable supports of their own ecclesiastical tyranny and usurpation.

3. Such Councillors and Courtiers as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the interests of some foreign princes or states to the prejudice of His Majesty and the State at home.

The common principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular counsels and actions were these:

First, to maintain continual differences and discontents between the King and the people, upon questions of prerogative and liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him, and under the notions of men addicted to his service, gain to themselves and their parties the places of greatest trust and power in the kingdom.

A second, to suppress the purity and power of religion, and such persons as were best affected to it, as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that change which they thought to introduce.

A third, to conjoin those parties of the kingdom which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations.

To cherish the Arminian part in those points wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the difference between the common Protestants and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such opinions and ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to increase and maintain ignorance, looseness and profaneness in the people; that of those three parties, Papists, Arminians and Libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such counsels and resolutions as were most conducible to their own ends.

A fourth, to disaffect the King to Parliaments by slander and false imputations, and by putting him upon other ways of supply, which in show and appearance were fuller of advantage than the ordinary course of subsidies, though in truth they brought more loss than gain both to the King and people, and have caused the great distractions under which we both suffer.

As in all compounded bodies the operations are qualified according to the predominant element, so in this mixed party, the Jesuited counsels, being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations, and if they

be not prevented, are likely to devour the rest, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of His Majesty's reign the party began to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat damped by the breach with Spain in the last year of King James, and by His Majesty's marriage with France; the interests and counsels of that State being not so contrary to the good of religion and the prosperity of this kingdom as those of Spain; and the Papists of England, having been ever more addicted to Spain than France, yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of religion which they intended at home.

1. The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength was the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had been given two subsidies to His Majesty, and before they received relief in any one grievance many other more miserable effects followed.

2. The loss of the Rochel fleet, by the help of our shipping, set forth and delivered over to the French in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left that town without defence by sea, and made way, not only to the loss of that important place, but likewise to the loss of all the strength and security of the Protestant religion in France.

3. The diverting of His Majesty's course of wars from the West Indies, which was the most facile and hopeful way for this kingdom to prevail against the Spaniard, to an expenseful and successless attempt upon Cadiz, which was so ordered as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of war than to prosper in it.

4. The precipitate breach with France, by taking their ships to a great value without making recompense to the English, whose goods were thereupon imbarred and confiscated in that kingdom.

5. The peace with Spain without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of King James to both Houses, whereby the Palatine's cause was deserted and left to chargeable and hopeless treaties, which for the most part were managed by those who might justly be suspected to be no friends to that cause.

6. The charging of the kingdom with billeted soldiers in all parts of it, and the concomitant design of German horse, that the land might either submit with fear or be enforced with rigour to such arbitrary contributions as should be required of them.

7. The dissolving of the Parliament in the second year of His Majesty's reign, after a declaration of their intent to grant five subsidies.

8. The exacting of the like proportion of five subsidies, after the Parliament dissolved, by commission of loan, and divers gentlemen and others imprisoned for not yielding to pay that loan, whereby many of them contracted such sicknesses as cost them their lives.

9. Great sums of money required and raised by privy seals.

10. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the subject by way of excise, and a commission issued under the seal to that purpose.

11. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blasted, with an illegal declaration to make it destructive to itself, to the power of Parliament, to the liberty of the subject, and to that purpose printed with it, and the Petition made of no use but to show the bold and presumptuous injustice of such ministers as durst break the laws and suppress the liberties of the kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

12. Another Parliament dissolved 4 Car., the privilege of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many months together, without the liberty of using books, pen, ink or paper; denying them all the comforts of life, all means of preservation of health, not permitting their wives to come unto them even in the time of their sickness.

13. And for the completing of that cruelty, after years spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary means of spiritual consolation, not suffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's ordinances in God's House, or God's ministers to come to them to minister comfort to them in their private chambers.

14. And to keep them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to law, yet vexing them with informations in inferior courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament; and extorting the payments of those fines from them, enforcing others to put in security of good behaviour before they could be released.

15. The imprisonment of the rest, which refused to be bound, still continued, which might have been perpetual if necessity had not the last year brought another Parliament to relieve them, of whom one died by the cruelty and harshness of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life and sufficiently appear by the declaration of his physician, and his release, or at least his refreshment, was sought by many humble petitions, and his blood still cries for vengeance or repentance of those Ministers of

State, who have at once obstructed the course both of His Majesty's justice and mercy.

16. Upon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous declarations were published to asperse their proceedings, and some of their members unjustly; to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them; proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them even to speak of Parliaments.

17. After the breach of the Parliament in the fourth of His Majesty, injustice, oppression and violence broke in upon us without any restraint or moderation, and yet the first project was the great sums exacted through the whole kingdom for default of knighthood, which seemed to have some colour and shadow of a law, yet if it be rightly examined by that obsolete law which was pretended for it, it will be found to be against all the rules of justice, both in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of their proceedings.

18. Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of law; many other heavy impositions continued against law, and some so unreasonable that the sum of the charge exceeds the value of the goods.

19. The Book of Rates lately enhanced to a high proportion, and such merchants that would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of justice, the common birthright of the subject of England, wholly obstructed unto them.

20. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the seas, yet a new unheard-of tax of ship-money was devised, and upon the same pretence, by both which there was charged upon the subject near £700,000 some years, and yet the merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish pirates, that many great ships of value and thousands of His Majesty's subjects have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable slavery.

21. The enlargements of forests, contrary to *Carte de Foresta,* and the composition thereupon.

2. The exactions of coat and conduct money and divers other military charges.

23. The taking away the arms of trained bands of divers counties.

24. The desperate design of engrossing all the gunpowder into

one hand, keeping it in the Tower of London, and setting so high a rate upon it that the poorer sort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without licence, thereby to leave the several parts of the kingdom destitute of their necessary defence, and by selling so dear that which was sold to make an unlawful advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the subject.

25. The general destruction of the King's timber, especially that in the Forest of Deans, sold to Papists, which was the best store-house of this kingdom for the maintenance of our shipping.

26. The taking away of men's right, under the colour of the King's title to land, between high and low water marks.

27. The monopolies of soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, and in a manner of all things of most common and necessary use.

28. The restraint of the liberties of the subjects in their habitation, trades and other interests.

29. Their vexation and oppression by purveyors, clerks of the market and saltpetre men.

30. The sale of pretended nuisances, as building in and about London.

31. Conversion of arable into pasture, continuance of pasture, under the name of depopulation, have driven away millions out of the subjects' purses, without any considerable profit to His Majesty.

32. Large quantities of common and several grounds hath been taken from the subject by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuse of the Commission of Sewers, without their consent, and against it.

33. And not only private interest, but also public faith, have been broken in seizing of the money and bullion in the mint, and the whole kingdom like to be robbed at once in that abominable project of brass money.

34. Great numbers of His Majesty's subjects for refusing those unlawful charges, have been vexed with long and expensive suits, some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the loss of health in many, of life in some, and others have had their homes broken up, their goods seized, some have been restrained from their lawful callings.

35. Ships have been interrupted in their voyages, surprised at sea in a hostile manner by projectors, as by a common enemy.

36. Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such ports as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to those places

which were much for the advantage of the monopolisers and projectors.

37. The Court of Star Chamber hath abounded in extravagant censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of monopolies and other unlawful taxes, but for divers other causes where there hath been no offence, or very small; whereby His Majesty's subjects have been oppressed by grievous fines, imprisonments, stigmatisings, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, confinements, banishments; after so rigid a manner as hath not only deprived men of the society of their friends, exercise of their professions, comfort of books, use of paper or ink, but even violated that near union which God hath established between men and their wives, by forced and constrained separation, whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another for many years together, without hope of relief, if God had not by His overruling providence given some interruption to the prevailing power, and counsel of those who were the authors and promoters of such peremptory and heady courses.

38. Judges have been put out of their places for refusing to do against their oaths and consciences; others have been so awed that they durst not do their duties, and the better to hold a rod over them, the clause *Quam diu se bene gesserit* was left out of their patents, and a new clause *Durante bene placito* inserted.

39. Lawyers have been checked for being faithful to their clients; solicitors and attorneys have been threatened, and some punished, for following lawful suits. And by this means all the approaches to justice were interrupted and forecluded.

40. New oaths have been forced upon the subject against law.

41. New judicatories erected without law. The Council Table have by their orders offered to bind the subjects in their freeholds, estates, suits and actions.

42. The pretended Court of the Earl Marshal was arbitrary and illegal in its being and proceedings.

43. The Chancery, Exchequer Chamber, Court of Wards, and other English Courts, have been grievous in exceeding their jurisdiction.

44. The estate of many families weakened, and some ruined by excessive fines, exacted from them for compositions of wardships.

45. All leases of above a hundred years made to draw on wardship contrary to law.

46. Undue proceedings used in the finding of offices to make the jury find for the King.

47. The Common Law Courts, feeling all men more inclined to see justice there, where it may be fitted to their own desire, are known frequently to forsake the rules of the Common Law, and straying beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity, to do injustice.

48. Titles of honour, judicial places, sergeantships at law, and other offices have been sold for great sums of money, whereby the common justice of the kingdom hath been much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment in places of great trust, and advantage to men of weak parts, but also by giving occasion to bribery, extortion, partiality, it seldom happening that places ill-gotten are well used.

49. Commissions have been granted for examining the excess of fees, and when great exactions have been discovered, compositions have been made with delinquents, not only for the time past, but likwise for immunity and security in offending for the time to come, which under colour of remedy hath but confirmed and increased the grievance to the subject.

50. The usual course of pricking Sheriffs not observed, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way, sometimes as a punishment and charge unto them; sometimes such were pricked out as would be instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

51. The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy did triumph in the suspenses, excommunications, deprivations, and degradations of divers painful, learned and pious ministers, in the vexation and grievous oppression of great numbers of His Majesty's good subjects.

52. The High Commission grew to such excess of sharpness and severity as was not much less than the Romish Inquisition, and yet in many cases by the Archbishop's power was made much more heavy, being assisted and strengthened by authority of the Council Table.

53. The Bishops and their Courts were as eager in the country; although their jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigour and extremity of punishment, yet were they no less grievous in respect of the generality and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner sort of tradesmen and artificers did impoverish many thousands.

54. And so affiict and trouble others, that great numbers to avoid their miseries departed out of the kingdom, some into New England and other parts of America, others into Holland.

55. Where they have transported their manufactures of cloth, which is not only a loss by diminishing the present stock of the kingdom, but a great mischief by impairing and endangering the loss of that particular trade of clothing, which hath been a plentiful fountain of wealth and honour to this nation.

56. Those were fittest for ecclesiastical preferment, and soonest obtained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most virulent in railing against godliness and honesty.

57. The most public and solemn sermons before His Majesty were either to advance prerogative above law, and decry the property of the subject, or full of such kind of invectives.

58. Whereby they might make those odious who sought to maintain the religion, laws and liberties of the kingdom, and such men were such to be weeded out of the commission of the peace, and out of all other employments of power in the government of the country.

59. Many noble personages were councillors in name, but the power and authority remained in a few of such as were most addicted to this party, whose resolutions and determinations were brought to the table for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation, and no man could offer to oppose them without disgrace and hazard to himself.

60. Nay, all those that did not wholly concur and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designs, though otherwise persons of never so great honour and abilities, were so far from being employed in any place of trust and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed.

61. This faction was grown to that height and entireness of power, that now they began to think of finishing their work, which consisted of these three parts.

62. I. The government must be set free from all restraint of laws concerning our persons and estates.

63. II. There must be a conjunction between Papists and Protestants in doctrine, discipline and ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Popery.

64. III. The Puritans, under which name they include all those that desire to preserve the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to maintain religion in the power of it, must be either rooted out of the kingdom with force, or driven out with fear.

65. For the effecting of this it was thought necessary to reduce Scotland to such Popish superstitions and innovations as might make them apt to join with England in that great change which was intended.

66. Whereupon new canons and a new liturgy were pressed upon them, and when they refused to admit of them, an army was raised to force them to it, towards which the Clergy and the Papists were very forward in their contribution.

67. The Scots likewise raised an army for their defence.

68. And when both armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majesty's own gracious disposition, and the counsel of the English nobility and dutiful submission of the Scots, did so far prevail against the evil counsel of others, that a pacification was made, and His Majesty returned with peace and much honour to London.

69. The unexpected reconciliation was most acceptable to all the kingdom, except to the malignant party; whereof the Archbishop and the Earl of Strafford being heads, they and their faction begun to inveigh against the peace, and to aggravate the proceedings of the states, which so increased His Majesty, that he forthwith prepared again for war.

70. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and government of the kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only means to restore all to a right frame and temper again.

71. To which end they persuaded His Majesty to call a Parliament, not to seek counsel and advice of them, but to draw countenance and supply from them, and to engage the whole kingdom in their quarrel.

72. And in the meantime continued all their unjust levies of money, resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their will, and to establish mischief by a law, or else to break it, and with more colour to go on by violence to take what they could not obtain by consent. The ground alleged for the justification of this war was this,

73. That the undutiful demands of the Parliaments in Scotland was a sufficient reason for His Majesty to take arms against them, without hearing the reason of those demands, and thereupon a new army was prepared against them, their ships were seized in all ports both of England and Ireland, and at sea, their petitions rejected, their commissioners refused audience.

74. The whole kingdom most miserably distempered with levies of men and money, and imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those levies.

75. The Earl of Strafford passed into Ireland, caused the Parliament there to declare against the Scots, to give four subsidies towards that war, and to engage themselves, their lives and fortunes, for the prosecution of it, and gave directions for an army of eight thousand foot and one thousand horse to be levied there, which were for the most part Papists.

76. The Parliament met upon the 13th of April, 1640. The Earl of Strafford and Archbishop of Canterbury, with their party, so prevailed with His Majesty, that the House of Commons was pressed to yield a supply for maintenance of the war with Scotland, before they had provided any relief for the great and pressing grievances of the people, which being against the fundamental privilege and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to His Majesty, so far admitted as that they agreed to take the matter of supply into consideration, and two several days it was debated.

77. Twelve subsidies were demanded for the release of ship-money alone, a third day was appointed for conclusion, when the heads of that party begun to fear the people might close with the King, in falsifying his desires of money; but that withal they were like to blast their malicious designs against Scotland, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that war.

78. Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to break off the Parliament and to return to the ways of confusion, in which their own evil intentions were most likely to prosper and succeed.

79. After the Parliament ended the 5th of May, 1640, this party grew so bold as to counsel the King to supply himself out of his subjects' estates by his own power, at his own will, without their consent.

80. The very next day some members of both Houses had their studies and cabinets, yea, their pockets searched: another of them not long after was committed close prisoner for not delivering some petitions which he received by authority of that House.

81. And if harsher courses were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the sickness of the Earl of Strafford, and the tumultuous rising in Southwark and about Lambeth were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution.

82. A false and scandalous Declaration against the House of Commons was published in His Majesty's name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the impudence of those who were authors of it.

83. A forced loan of money was attempted in the City of London.

84. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their several wards, enjoined to bring in a list of names of such persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the sums they should lend. And such Aldermen as refused to do so were committed to prison.

85. The Archbishop and the other Bishops and Clergy continued

the Convocation, and by a new commission turned it into a provincial Synod, in which, by an unheard-of presumption, they made canons that contain in them many matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the right of Parliaments, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their own usurpations, justifying their altar-wroship, and those other superstitious innovations which they formerly introduced without warrant of law.

86. They imposed a new oath upon divers of His Majesty's subjects, both ecclesiastical and lay, for maintenance of their own tyranny, and laid a great tax on the Clergy, for supply of His Majesty, and generally they showed themselves very affectionate to the war with Scotland, which was by some of them styled *Bellum Episcopale,* and a prayer composed and enjoined to be read in all churches, calling the Scots rebels, to put the two nations in blood and make them irreconcileable.

87. All those pretended canons and constitutions were armed with the several censures of suspension, excommunication, deprivation, by which they would have thrust out all the good ministers, and most of the well-affected people of the kingdom, and left an easy passage to their own design of reconciliation with Rome.

88. The Popish party enjoyed such exemptions from penal laws as amounted to a toleration, besides many other encouragements and Court favours.

89. They had a Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windibanck, a powerful agent for speeding all their desires.

90. A Pope's Nuncio residing here, to act and govern them according to such influences as he received from Rome, and to intercede for them with the most powerful concurrence of the foreign Princes of that religion.

91. By his authority the Papists of all sorts, nobility, gentry, and clergy were convocated after the manner of a Parliament.

92. New jurisdictions were erected of Romish Archbishops, taxes levied, another state moulded within this state independent in government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of our religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were found in this posture, waiting for an opportunity by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce.

93. For the effecting whereof they were strengthened with arms

and munitions, encouraged by superstitious prayers, enjoined by the Nuncio to be weekly made for the prosperity of some great design.

94. And such power had they at Court, that secretly a commission was issued out, or intended to be issued to some great men of that profession, for the levying of soldiers, and to command and employ them according to private instructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them.

95. His Majesty's treasure was consumed, his revenue anticapated.

96. His servants and officers compelled to lend great sums of money.

97. Multitudes were called to the Council Table, who were tired with long attendances there for refusing illegal payments.

98. The prisons were filled with their commitments; many of the Sheriffs summoned into the Star Chamber, and some imprisoned for not being quick enough in levying the ship-money; the people languished under grief and fear, no visible hope being left but in desperation.

99. The nobility began to weary of their silence and patience, and sensible of the duty and trust which belongs to them: and thereupon some of the most ancient of them did petition His Majesty at such a time, when evil counsels were so strong, that they had occasion to expect more hazard to themselves, than redress of those public evils for which they interceded.

100. Whilst the kingdom was in this agitation, and distemper, the Scots, restrained in their trades, impoverished by the loss of many of their ships, bereaved of all possibility of satisfying His Majesty by any naked supplication, entered with a powerful army into the kingdom, and without any hostile act or spoil in the country they passed, more than forcing a passage over the Tyne at Newburn, near Newcastle, possessed themselves of Newcastle, and had a fair opportunity to press on further upon the King's army.

101. But duty and reverence to His Majesty, and brotherly love to the English nation, made them stay there, whereby the King had leisure to entertain better counsels.

102. Wherein God so blessed and directed him that he summoned the Great Council of Peers to meet at York upon the 24th of September, and there declared a Parliament to begin the 3d of November then following.

103. The Scots, the first day of the Great Councli, presented an

humble Petition to His Majesty, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at Ripon.

104. A present cessation of arms agreed upon, and the full conclusion of all differences referred to the wisdom and care of the Parliament.

105. At our first meeting, all opposition seemed to vanish, the mischiefs were so evident which those evil counsellors produced, that no man durst stand up to defend them: yet the work itself afforded difficulty enough.

106. The multiplied evils of corruption of fifteen years, strengthened by custom and authority, and the concurrent interest of many powerful delinquents, were now to be brought to judgment and reformation.

107. The Kng's household was to be provided for:—they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply his ordinary and necessary expenses without the assistance of his people.

108. Two armies were to be paid, which amounted very near to eighty thousand pounds a month.

109. The people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhausted with many burdensome projects.

110. The difficulties seemed to be insuperable, which by the Divine Providence we had overcome. The contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great measure we have reconciled.

111. Six subsidies have been granted and a Bill of poll-money, which if it be duly levied, may equal six subsidies more, in all £600,000.

112. Besides we have contracted a debt to the Scots of £220,000, yet God had so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the kingdom is a great gainer by all these charges.

113. The ship-money is abolished, which cost the kingdom about £200,000 a year.

114. The coat and conduct-money, and other military charges are taken away, which in many countries amounted to little less than ship-money.

115. The monopolies are all suppressed, whereof some few did prejudice the subject, above £1,000,000 yearly.

116. The soap £100,000.

117. The wine £300,000.

118. The leather must needs exceed both, and salt could be no less than that.

119. Besides the inferior monopolies, which, if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great sum.

120. That which is more beneficial than all this is, that the root of these evils is taken away, which was the arbritrary power pretended to be in His Majesty of taxing the subject, or charging their estates without consent in Parliament, which is now declared to be against law by the judgment of bothe Houses, and likewise by an Act of Parliament.

121. Another step of great advantage is this, the living grievances, the evil counsellors and actors of these mischiefs have been so quelled.

122. By the justice done upon the Earl of Stafford, the flight of the Lord Finch and Secretary Windebank.

123. The accusation and imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Judge Berkeley; and

124. The impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges, that it is like not only to be an ease to the present times, but a preservation to the future.

125. The discontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a triennial Parliament, and the abrupt dissolution of this Parliament by another Bill, by which it is provided it shall not be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of both Houses.

126. Which two laws well considered may be thought more advantageous than all the former, because they secure a full operation of the present remedy, and afford a perpetual spring of remedies for the future.

127. The Star Chamber.

128. The High Commission.

129. The Courts of the President and Council in the North were so many forges of misery, oppression and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties and estates, than they could be by any law or example for the regulation of those Courts or terror of the Judges.

130. The immoderate power of the Council Table, and the excessive abuse of that power is so ordered and restrained, that we may well hope that no such things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the public liberty, will appear in future times but only in stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for His Majesty's goodness, and the faithful endeavours of this Parliament.

131. The canons and power of canon-making are blasted by the votes of both Houses.

132. The exorbitant power of Bishops and their courts are much

abated, by some provisions in the Bill against the High Commission Court, the authors of the many innovations in doctrine and ceremonies.

133. The ministers that have been scandalous in their lives, have been so terrified in just complaints and accusations, that we may well hope they will be more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their own folly, or outwordly restrained by the fear of punishment.

134. The forests are by a good law reduced to their right bounds.

135. The encroachments and oppressions of the Stannary Courts, the extortions of the clerk of the market.

136. And the compulsion of the subject to receive the Order of Knighthood against his will, paying of fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of thise fines, are by other beneficial laws reformed and prevented.

137. Many excellent laws and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation and usurpation of Bishops, for reforming the pride and idleness of many of the clergy, for easing the people of unnecessary ceremonies in religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable ministers, and for maintaining godly and diligent preachers through the kingdom.

138. Other things of main importance for the good of this kingdom are in proposition, though little could hitherto be done in regard of the many other more pressing businesses, which yet before the end of this Session we hope may receive some progress and perfection.

139. The establishing and ordering the King's revenue, that so the abuse of officers and superfluity of expenses may be cut off, and the necessary disbursements for His Majesty's honour, the defence and government of the kingdom, may be more certainly provided for.

140. The regulating of courts of justice, and abridging both the delays and charges of law-suits.

141. The settling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of gold and silver, and the inequality of exchanges between us and other nations, for the advancing of native commodities, increase of our manufactures, and well belancing of trade, whereby the stock of the kingdom may be increased, or at least kept from impairing, as through neglect hereof it hath done for many years last past.

142. Improving the herring-fishing upon our coasts, which will be of mighty use in the employment of the poor, and a plentiful nursery of mariners for enabling the kingdom in any great action.

143. The oppositions, obstructions and other difficulties wherewith we have been encountered, and which still lie in our way with some strength and much obstinacy, are these: the malignant party whom we have formerly described to be the actors and promoters of all our misery, they have taken heart again.

144. They have been able to prefer some of their own factors and agents to degrees of honour, to places of trust and employment, even during the Parliament.

145. They have endeavoured to work in His Majesty ill impressions and opinions of our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not his; and had obtained from him many things very prejudicial to the Crown, both in respect of prerogative and profit.

146. To wipe out this slander we think good only to say thus much: that all that we have done is for His Majesty, his greatness, honour and support, when we yield to give £25,000 a month for the relief of the Northern Counties; this was given to the King, for he was bound to protect his subjects.

147. They were His Majesty's evil counsellors, and their ill instruments that were actors in those grievances which brought in the Scots.

148. And if His Majesty please to force those who were the authors of this war to make satisfaction, as he might justly and easily do, it seems very reasonable that the people might well be excused from taking upon them this burden, being altogether innocent and free from being any cause of it.

149. When we undertook the charge of the army, which cost above £50,000 a month, was not this given to the King? Was it not His Majesty's army? Were not all the commanders under contract with His Majesty, at higher rates and greater wages than ordinary?

150. And have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of £300,000, which we gave the Scots? Was it not toward repair of those damages and losses which they received from the King's ships and from his ministers?

151. These three particulars amount to above £1,100,000.

152. Besides, His Majesty hath had out of the subjects' purse since the Parliament began, £1,500,000, and yet these men can be so impudent as to tell His Majesty that we have done nothing for him.

154. As to the second branch of this slander, we acknowledge with much thankfulness that His Majesty hath passed more good Bills

to the advantage of the subjects than have been in many ages.

155. But withal we cannot forget that these venomous councils did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good acts.

156. And for both Houses of Parliament we may with truth and modesty say thus much: that we have ever been careful not to desire anything that should weaken the Crown either in just profit or useful power.

157. The triennial Parliament for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much as by law we ought to have required (there being two statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a year), and for the manner of it, it is in the King's power that it shall never take effect, if he by a timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling.

158. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seems to be some restraint of the royal power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crown, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion only: which was so necessary for the King's own security and the public peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of these great charges, but must have left both the armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole kingdom to blood and rapine.

159. The Star Chamber was much more fruitful in oppression than in profit, the great fines being for the most part given away, and the rest stalled at long times.

160. The fines of the High Commission were in themselves unjust, and seldom or never came into the King's purse. These four Bills are particularly and more specially instanced.

161. In the rest there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crown.

162. They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments.

163. The aspersions which they have attempted this way have been such as these:

164. That we have spent much time and done little, especially in those grievances which concern religion.

165. That the Parliament is a burden to the kingdom by the abundance of protections which hinder justice and trade; and by many subsidies granted much more heavy than any formerly endured.

166. To which there is a ready answer; if the time spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to the long growth and

deep root of those grievances, which we have removed, to the powerful supports of those delinquents, which we have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges of the commonwealth for which we have provided.

167. Or if it be considered in relation forward to many advantages, which not only the present but future ages are like to reap by the good laws and other proceedings in this Parliament, we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgments, that our time hath been much better employed than in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have been laid upon the subject, and the other inconveniences which they have borne, will seem very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive.

168. And for the matter of protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it that therein they intended to give them whatsoever ease may stand with honour and justice, and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction.

169. They have sought by many subtle practices to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of Scotland, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another.

170. They have had such a party of Bishops and Popish lords in the House of Peers, as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, hindered the proceedings of divers good Bills passed in the Commons' House, concerning the reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church and State.

171. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons' House to draw them into conspiracies and combinations against the liberty of the Parliament.

172. And by their instruments and agents they have attempted to disaffect and discontent His Majesty's army, and to engage it for the maintenance of their wicked and traitorous designs; the keeping up of Bishops in votes and functions, and their proceedings in such manner as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction.

173. And when one mischievous design and attempt of theirs to bring on the army against the Parliament and the City of London, hath been discovered and prevented;

174. They presently undertook another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish army

neutral, whilst the English army, which they had laboured to corrupt and envenom against us by their false and slanderous suggestions, should execute their malice to the subversion of our religion and the dissolution of our government.

175. Thus they have been continually practising to disturb the peace, and plotting the destruction even of all the King's dominions; and have employed their emissaries and agents in them, all for the promoting their devilish designs, which the vigilancy of those who were well affected hath still discovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in England and Scotland.

176. Only in Ireland, which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection that they had possessed themselves of that whole kingdom, totally subverted the government of it, routed out religion, and destroyed all the Protestants whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King and country, would not have permitted to join with them, if by God's wonderful providence their main enterprise upon the city and castle of Dublin, had not been detected and prevented upon the very eve before it should have been executed.

177. Notwithstanding they have in other parts of that kingdom broken out into open rebellion, surprising towns and castles, committed murders, rapes and other villainies, and shaken off all bonds of obedience to His Majesty and the laws of the realm.

178. And in general have kindled such a fire, as nothing but God's infinite blessing upon the wisdom and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it.

179. And certainly had not God in His great mercy unto this land discovered and confounded their former designs, we had been the prologue to this tragedy in Ireland, and had by this been made the lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion.

180. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the only means of our subsistence and power of reformation is under Him in the Parliament?

181. But what can we the Commons, without the conjunction of the House of Lords, and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and recusant lords are so numerous and prevalent that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings?

182. They infuse into the people that we mean to abolish all

Church government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto His Majesty, whom we know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law as well as with the temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of England, by such rules of order and discipline as are established by Parliament, which is his great council, in all affairs both in Church and State.

183. We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been, to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God and to the laws of the land, to which end we passed the Bill for the removing them from their temporal power and employments, that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions, which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing it.

184. And we do here declare that it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they please, for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin according to the Word of God. And we desire to unburden the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry.

185. And the better to effect the intended reformation, we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned and judicious divines of this island; assisted with some from foreign parts, professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom.

186. They have maliciously charged us that we intend to destroy and discourage learning, whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conscionable and preaching ministers throughout the kingdom, which will be a great encouragement to scholars, and a certain means whereby the want, meanness and ignorance, to which a great part of the clergy is now subject, will be prevented.

187. And we intended likewise to reform and purge the fountains

of learning, the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land.

188. They have strained to blast our proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the interpretations of our orders from their genuine intention.

189. They tell the people that our meddling with the power of episcopacy hath caused sectaries and conventicles, when idolatrous and Popish ceremonies, introduced into the Church by the command of the Bishops have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the kingdom.

190. Thus with Elijah, we are called by this malignant party the troubles of the State, and still, while we endeavour to reform their abuses, they make us the authors of those mischiefs we study to prevent.

191. For the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impediments, we conceive these courses will be very effectual, seeing the religion of the Papists hath such principles as do certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

192. It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such condition as they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoiding of such connivance and favour as hath heretofore been shown unto them.

193. That His Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due means by execution of the laws to prevent all mischievous designs against the peace and safety of this kingdom.

194. Thus some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of Papists to the Church, by colour whereof persons very much disaffected to the true religion have been admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the kingdom.

195. For the better preservation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, that all illegal grievances and exactions be presented and punished at the sessions and assizes.

196. And that Judges and Justices be very careful to give this in charge to the grand jury, and both the Sheriff and Justices to be sworn to the due execution of the Petition of Right and other laws.

197. That His Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such counsellors, ambassadors and other ministers, in managing his business at home and abroad as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which we cannot give His Majesty such supplies for

support of his own estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the sea, as is desired.

198. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being councillors, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lie not in proof.

199. There are others, which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal.

200. To be a known favourer of Papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament; or to speak contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament or Parliamentary proceedings.

201. Or such as are factors or agents for any foreign prince of another religion; such are justly suspected to get councillors' places, or any other of trust concerning public employment for money; for all these and divers others we may have great reason to be earnest with His Majesty, not to put his great affairs into such hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legal way of charge or impeachment.

202. That all Councillors of State may be sworn to observe those laws which concern the subject in his liberty, that they may likewise take an oath not to receive or give reward or pension from any foreign prince, but such as they shall within some reasonable time discover to the Lords of His Majesty's Council.

203. And although they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein do good to make them known to be false and perjured to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us.

204. That His Majesty may have cause to be in love with good counsel and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutiful manner how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate settled in a plentiful condition to support his honour; to see his people united in ways of duty to him, and endeavours of the public good; to see happiness, wealth, peace and safety derived to his own kingdom, and procured to his allies by the influence of his own power and government.